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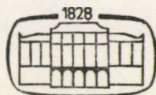
K. BOLLA, GY. HAZAI, P. KIRÁLY, GY. LAKÓ,
L. PAPP, GY. SZÉPE, L. TAMÁS, ZS. TELEGDI

REDIGUNT

J. HERMAN ET C. J. HUTTERER

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CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF UGRIC LANGUAGES (OBSERVATIONS ON THE QUESTION OF UGRIC UNITY)*

By

L. HONTI

0. In the course of debates in the last century about the proper genetic classification of Hungarian, it was definitely made clear that this language belongs to the family now called Finno-Ugric (or, taking a wider category, Uralic). It was also agreed upon that the remotest members of this family were Finnish and Hungarian, and that the latter formed a subgroup with Vogul and Ostyak. One point where opinions differed was whether Permian languages were to be included in the same group or not. Rasmus Rask all but classified Finno-Ugric languages as we do today: (1) Finnic (Finnish, Ingrian, Karelian, Olonets Karelian; Estonian, Livonian—Lapp—Cheremis, Mordvin); (2) Ugrian (Hungarian—Vogul—Konda-Ostyak and Ob-Ostyak); (3) Byarmic (Zyrian—Permian [~Permyak]—Votyak) (Rask 1834, 13, 28, 40). Sjögren relegated Zyrian to the Finnic group (Sjögren 1830, 458). Castrén established four groups, taking Volgaic languages to be a separate unit (cp. Donner 1879, 4). Hunfalvy took Finnish and Lapp on the one hand and all the rest on the other to belong together (Hunfalvy 1864, 262 ff.). Later on, he inserted Lapp between those two groups (Hunfalvy 1876, 224). There is but a small difference between his position and Ahlqvist's: the latter regarded Finnic languages to constitute the Western Group together with the easternmost Lapp while the westernmost Mordvin and all the rest made up the Eastern Group (Ahlqvist 1875, II). Budenz included Lapp, Ob-Ugric, Permian and Hungarian in what he called the Northern Group and the rest in the Southern Group (Budenz 1873—1881, 383; 1879). The classification actually accepted today is the one proposed by Otto Donner (1879, 156).

All the above views of the system of relations have this in common: they mention Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostyak together on the one hand, and Finnic, at least one Volgaic language and, as a rule, Lapp, on the other. Otto Donner, who analysed and classified Finno-Ugric languages according to numerous points of view, ascertained that Finnish linguists had generally accepted the thesis that Finnic, Lapp, and Volgaic languages formed an inti-

* My thanks are due to K. Rédei who kindly read the manuscript and helped solve some intriguing problems.

mate group without trying to prove it; the latter task was first accomplished by himself (Donner 1879, 8).

0.1. From the point of view of Hungarian, it is a fairly important question since when and on what score it has been associated with Vogul and Ostyak as its (closest) relatives. The resemblance of the names *hungarus* etc. for Hungarians and *jugor* for Ob-Ugrians was no doubt instrumental in the increasing frequency of references to the kinship of these peoples from the 15th century on (Zsirai 1937, 475 ff.; Gulya 1974b, 56 ff.). Zsirai claimed (1937, 144–145) that these two names were certainly related; the authors of the Zyrian etymological dictionary (ESK 112 *jegra*) also thought it was possible. Setälä (1926b, 167) and Vasmer (1973, 147, 527) regard it implausible that the name *jugor* should correlate with the Old Russian word *ugrin* (~Latin *hungarus*) referring to Hungarians. “The technical term *Ugric* — bracketing Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak together — is also used on the assumption that the old names *Ugra*, *Jugria* meaning Vogul and Ostyak have a common origin with *ungri*, *Hungaria* etc.” (Zsirai 1937, 142–143). In the 15th and 16th centuries it was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Mathias de Miechov and Siegmund Herberstein who propagated the idea that the peoples referred to as Ugric today were related (Pápay 1922a, 3; Zsirai 1937, 475–477; Gulya 1974b, 56–57). The language material collected by Strahlenberg made it possible to etymologize these languages. Based on such etymologies, Johann Eberhard Fischer pointed out regular sound correspondences; thus he is to be regarded as the one who has proved the affinity of Ugric languages (Pápay 1922a, 11; Zsirai 1937, 490–491). Zsirai also mentions that the historian András Huszti, following Strahlenberg, suggested that Voguls and Ostyaks were the closest kinsmen of Hungarians in *Ó és Ujj Dácia, azaz Erdélynek régi és mostani állapotjáról való História* [Old and New Dacia, or, a History of Ancient and Recent Conditions in Transylvania] written in 1735/36, published in 1791 (Zsirai 1937, 487–488). Reguly, who got acquainted with Ob-Ugric languages through first-hand experience, not just from secondary or tertiary sources, could whole-heartedly profess and declare the same (Zsirai 1937, 517–518) but, as far as I know, did not summarize the evidence. This must be one of the reasons why Hunfalvy classified Permian and Volgaic among the Ugric languages and left which languages were closest to Hungarian unsaid.

0.2. After such antecedents, it was Otto Donner's paper entitled *Die gegenseitige Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen* that once for all clarified the family tree of Finno-Ugric languages. He established degrees of relationship based on phonetic and morphological criteria. He concentrated on Finno-Permian languages and paid less attention to Ostyak, Vogul and Hungarian (Donner 1879, 9), but this was sufficient for him to declare a closer

relationship between Hungarian and Vogul than between Hungarian and Ostyak (150). In his book *Finnugor rokonságunk* [Our Finno-Ugric Relations], Zsirai assessed Donner's results as follows: "In the half century elapsed since the publication of Donner's work Finno-Ugric studies have undergone a considerable development... nevertheless, we have to admit that his main statements — thus, his theorem on the branching off of Proto-Finno-Ugric — are valid according to our present knowledge, too. Anyone who wants to illustrate the separation of Finno-Ugric languages by way of a family tree cannot, even today, depart from Donner's drawing except for a few details" (Zsirai 1937, 138). In the light of the results achieved in the meantime (little short of another half century, that is) we can still regard the family tree drawn by Donner to be fundamentally adequate.

In his book quoted above, Zsirai has the following to say about Ugric languages: "After the disintegration of the Finno-Ugric unity, having drifted away from their sister tribes, Ugrians (the ancestors of Hungarians, Voguls and Ostyaks) must have lived together for a considerable period" (Zsirai 1937, 14, emphasis added). "Changes and developments within Ugric are not substantial enough — either quantitatively or from a qualitative point of view — to make us think of the period of the Hungarian — Vogul — Ostyak coexistence as too long or, historically speaking, particularly fruitful or important. The links between members of the Ugric group must have been loose..." (147; emphasis supplied; cp. Zsirai 1943, 34). However, he takes this 'considerable', resp. 'not too long' period of coexistence, as another pair of quotations will make clear, to amount to two thousand years: "...some explanations are more readily available and some discrepancies easier to remove if we date the forking of Finno-Ugric peoples to the middle of the second millennium B. C." (1937, 140) and: "...in the 460's A. D. Sabirs, fleeing from Avars, swooped down on... Western Siberia and made Bulgaro-Turks leave their ancient land and migrate towards the Caucasus... accompanied by Hungarians" (1937, 150).

The exact stretch of time spent together is not particularly important for us here, as there have been some quite satisfactory attempts at periodization in the last two or three decades. It is, on the other hand, a much more essential statement of Zsirai's that the peculiarities and neologisms of the Ugric period are rather scarce. As enumerated by him, to be sure, they do not work out at a particularly high number: (1) similar development of Finno-Ugric **s* and **s*; (2) locative *-t* (e.g. *Kolozsvárt* 'at Kolozsvár'); (3) the dialectal suffixes *-nott* 'at', *-nól* 'from', *-ni* 'to'; (4) "among others", instantaneous *-p-* (e.g. *állapodik* 'settle'); (5) causative *-l* (e.g. *forral* 'bring to the boil'); (6) the verbal suffix *-h-* (e.g. *bűnhődik* 'expiate'); (7) the appearance of the numeral 'seven'; and (8) the word stock of horse-breeding. "Our objective conjugation

is generally taken to be another Ugric development though serious counter-arguments are easy to advance. Thus, the affixes referring to the person of the subject and that of the object are, for the most part, different in Hungarian and in Vogul/Ostyak. Constructional uniformity is not a convincing proof of common origin" (Zsirai 1937, 147–150). This is meagre evidence if we want to corroborate the comparatively close relationship of the three genetically related languages known as Ugric. At best, the expression "among others" makes us suspect that the list of evidence is far from exhaustive. This turns out to be the case since Donner's results include some undoubtedly valid points not mentioned by Zsirai, such as Hung. *tal(an)/tel(en)* ~ Vog. *tal* privative suffix, or the numerical system growing fuller than in Finno-Ugric. More recent papers (i.e. those that go that far back in the history of Hungarian language and people) speak of the one-time Ugric community, the linguistic unity of Ugric peoples with considerable scepticism. As far as I know, before Zsirai's book such views had never appeared in print: Setälä for instance (1926a, 61–62; 1926b, 169–170) shows no sign of doubt. Donner's is the first and last book that classifies Finno-Ugric languages starting from an aggregate evidence of phonetics, morphology and word stock (cp. Donner 1879, 8). Finno-Ugric scholars following him practically accepted his results, supplementing, at most, the overall picture with some particulars (Setälä 1926a, 61–62; Szinnyei 1922, 1927; Zsirai 1937). In my opinion, the scattered, incomplete, and random presentation of common Ugric features in Szinnyei's books has been the point of departure for all scepticists.

0.3. In postwar years the Ugric unity is hardly ever mentioned without expressing utmost doubt. To be more exact: although the Ugric period is taken to be more than 1,000 years long, the ancestors of Hungarians are said to have maintained a very poor connection with those of Ob-Ugrians, a situation to be corroborated by the infinitesimal number of common Ugric features (Hajdú 1962, 86–87; 1972, 28–29; Sauvageot 1975, 148; Janurik 1976, 20–22). Recently it has been argued that even an Ob-Ugric linguistic unity is a mere fiction (Gulya 1977). As far as I know, Gy. Décsy is the only scholar whose standpoint does not even incline to doubt (Décsy 1965, 169–172). Since my interest centers on Ob-Ugric languages — I deal with their historical phonology and morphology —, I find it desirable from my own point of view to examine whether I can rely more safely in certain matters on Hungarian and its history than e.g. on Permian languages. Of course, Hungarian is not yet able to offer as much help as it could if the linguistic historians' interest extended beyond the age of the oldest record (e.g. Bárczi 1974, 13; Gulya 1977, 115), which would, by the way, be of great importance. As for Ob-Ugric languages, the situation is far from rosy on that side either: the results of diachronic phonological and morphological studies do not as yet

provide a firm basis for an investigation of earlier phases, while questions of Ob-Ugric syntax have hardly ever been touched upon by successive generations.

1. In what follows I will, in spite of the insufficiency of available preliminary studies, try to investigate those arguments adduced from Szinnyei and Zsirai up to now that quantitatively as well as qualitatively counted as counter-arguments rather than advocating the case of Ugric protolanguage and unity. Further, I will attempt to point out certain facts that could possibly promote a satisfactory answer to this question.

1.1. First, I will consider those alleged pieces of evidence of the Ugric coexistence which I think are unsound or are not proofs of anything.

(1) The Ugric origin of \tilde{a} and \bar{a} (= Hung. *a*, \acute{a}) is assumed by Gulya (1969; 1974a, 53). However, in Gulya (1969) the author (a) tried to approach a subproblem of detail of Proto-Ugric without prior study of Ob-Ugric historical phonology; (b) interpreted some Ob-Ugric data in an arbitrary fashion (cp. e.g. his assertion of the Ostyak cognates of Hung. *hattyú* 'swan', *tat* 'stern', 1969, 347); (c) wished to explain relations within Proto-Ugric, and Finno-Permian-Ugric correspondences, referring to Steinitz, by vowel alternation, thus trying to avoid the investigation of sound changes. It can hardly be disputable that prior to a clarification of the vowel system of Proto-Ugric no declaration can be made of whether there was a quantitative opposition at all or whether the assumed short low back vowel was labial or illabial.

(2) Final vowels of nominals were dropped in all three Ugric languages but, contrary to Gulya (1974, 53), that cannot have happened in Proto-Ugric, since both Hungarian and Vogul written records testify that the dropping of such vowels took place during the separate lives of these languages.

(3) Décsy (1965, 169) mentions as a Ugric feature that corresponding to the sound \check{c} of other Finno-Ugric languages Ugric languages have \check{s} "in some cases". To prove that, he quotes Hung. *sok* 'many' and its cognates. However, it is well-known that in Ob-Ugric only Eastern (and partly Southern) Ostyak dialects preserved \check{c} , but the (Southern) Ostyak word quoted as the cognate of Hung. *sok* is a Zyrian loanword (cp. MSzFE 1978, 554). Thus Eastern Ostyak \check{c} precludes the possibility that deaffrication happened in the Ugric period; further, it is only in Hungarian (at most) that "in some cases" *s* (read \check{s}) corresponds to earlier \check{c} . Kálmán (1968, 228) and Janurik (1976, 22) ascribe the $*\check{c} > *\check{s}$ change to the Ugric period even more categorically.

(4–5) The change Proto-Finno-Ugric $*-k >$ Proto-Ugric $*\gamma$ as well as the shortening in PU of PFU geminates (Kálmán 1968, 228; Janurik 1976, 22) are baseless assumptions as (a) PFU $*-k-$ and $*-kk-$ are not represented in two distinct ways in PU (cp. Collinder 1960, 77 ff.); (b) PFU $*-tt-$ and $*-pp-$

could not get reduced before the age of Old Hungarian which is proved beyond any doubt by the fact that in Hungarian PU/PFU geminates have descendants different from those of corresponding short consonants.

(6—7) PFU $*\delta > \text{PI } *l$ and PFU $*\delta' > \text{PU } *l$ (Kálmán 1968, 228, 229; Janurik 1976, 22) cannot have taken place in the Ugric period as (a) in Ostyak $*\delta'$ is represented by j , and $*l$ by l (see Collinder 1960, 62, [partly erroneously:] 71, 109—110, 122); furthermore, $*\delta' > j$ could only happen after the Ob-Ugric unity had disintegrated, since in Vogul $*\delta'$ is replaced by l (Collinder 1960, loc. cit.); (b) if changes of $*\delta'$ thus are to be ascribed to the separate lives of Ugric languages, the same applies to $*\delta > l$, since in the opposition $\delta : \delta'$ the unmarked member is δ .

(8) Décsy takes the stem relations of verbs of the type Hung. *vész/věv/vě-* 'take' \sim Vog. *wiγ/wi-* etc. (\sim Ostyak *wěj/wě-* etc.) to be one of the Ugric features (1965, 170). This is not too plausible; such stems used to end in PFU $*k$ or $*\gamma$ that could develop into \emptyset in the separate lives of these languages. Hung. *-v-* (Bárczi 1958b, 51), Vog. *-γ-* (Liimola, in: Itkonen 1949, 46) and Ostyak *-j-*, *-γ-* are secondary developments. This can be proved by the fact that in the above stem Vog. γ corresponds to Ostyak j but in other similar verbs we find *-γ-* vs. *-γ-*.

(9) Locative *-t* was first detected in Ugric languages only (Szinnyei 1922, 62—63, 1927, 130; cp. Zsirai 1937, 147), but later it was identified with case suffixes in Finno-Permic languages (Zsirai 1937, 69 fn.; Lakó 1951, 210—211, 1951—1952; Liimola 1963, 54; Hajdú 1973, 121).

(10) Décsy (1965, 170) mentions among Ugric features that all three languages have developed a secondary 'negatory verb' meaning 'there is not' (Hung. *nincs*, Vog. *ati* [ɔ : *̃ti*, *̃təm*, *̃təm* etc.], Ostyak *antem* [ɔ : *̃ntim*, *̃ntqm*]), though he adds that probably a parallel development is involved. But if that were the case, the phenomenon should not have been mentioned in the chapter in question. We can add here that Permic languages having retained the original negatory verb also have a negative particle meaning 'is not, not' (Rédei 1969, 326). It is true that Ugric languages, unlike the Finno-Permic branch, lack a real (original) negative verb (Majtinskaja 1966, 317), but in the age of Proto-Ugric it presumably existed (Rédei 1970).

(11) The element *kengy-* of Hung. *kengyel* 'stirrup' is usually classified as belong to the Ugric word stock (e.g. Munkácsi 1901, 399—400; Szinnyei 1927, 58; Janurik 1976, 22; but cp. Zsirai 1937, 148); that this is wrong can be seen from MSzFE (1971, 351).

(12) Décsy attributes to Proto-Ugric the similar construction ('head-of-the-week') of Hung. *hétfő* 'Monday' and the Vogul and Ostyak words for 'Sunday' (1965, 171). However, according to the new etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language (TESz. 1970, 102), the latter were formed independently.

1.2. In the following twenty-nine points I will try to consider those related features and word-stock correspondences that in my opinion support the idea of Ugric unity.

(1–2) The merger of PFU $*s$ and $*š$ into $*s$ and the change of the latter into $*θ$, as well as the change of PFU $*š$ into $*s$ is usually taken to be an event having taken place in the Ugric period (Zsirai 1937, 146; Steinitz 1944, 28; Collinder 1960, 58, 61, 99, 100, 102; Hajdú 1973, 104–105; Gulya 1974a, 53). Recently, H. Katz claimed that $*š > *θ$ could not happen in Proto-Ugric, since (1) medial PFU $*s > \text{Hung. } sz$ (read s ; as in *fészek* ‘nest’) contradicts it; (2) Ob-Ugrian (Proto-Ostyak) exhibits $*s > *θ$ in its Iranian loanwords; (3) a change $*θ > *h$ ($> \varnothing$ in Hungarian) is phonetically implausible (Katz 1973, 283). Of course, Katz may be right; but (1) a single etymology, however reliable, carries little weight in phonetic matters; (2) though ‘chain-mail’ is recorded in Ostyak, ‘sleigh’ in Eastern Ostyak only, this is no proof that the borrowing is not earlier than the Proto-Ostyak period; (3) a $*θ > h$ change may be ‘implausible’, but e.g. Bergsland believes that Southern Laponian h for PFU $*δ$ evolved through an intermediate $*θ$, while Old Norse $þ$ ($=θ$) is also represented by h in Sothorn Laponian (Bergsland 1962, 39, 1967, 43–44; cp. also Collinder 1960, 61–62); Old Persian $θ$ is represented by h in Modern Persian (as well as in other South-Western Iranian languages) (Rastorgueva et al. 1980, 99 ff.).

(3) I think it is one of the linguistic proofs of Ugric unity that $kš$ and $k̆š$ are differently represented in Hungarian and some Vogul and Ostyak dialects. Laziczus regarded the phoneme splitting $*kš > *χš$, $*k̆š > *k̆χ$ to belong to the Ugric period; more specifically, he said that it took place in some PU dialects only, and present-day representations arose through dialect mixing (Laziczus 1932, 86 ff.; 1938, 32). To trace back this phoneme splitting to Proto-Ugric is indeed unjustified (cp. Bárczi 1958a, 123; 1968). E. Vértés seems to be right in saying “Since initial $*k$ - did not split into palatal and velar variants in any Finno-Permian language, but this process ensued in some dialects of all Ugric languages, this evolution could start in at least some Proto-Ugric dialects: the phonetic difference between initial $k̆š$ - \sim $k̆χ$ - became more pronounced than in Proto-Finno-Ugric” (Vértés 1960, 13), with the possible omission of the reference to dialectal level, as that is neither supported nor contradicted by any evidence.

(4) The PFU $*η \sim$ PU $*ηk$ sporadic correlation is supposed to mirror a change in the Ugric age (Lakó 1968, 79–80; Kálmán 1968, 228; Janurik 1976, 22). We can indeed conclude that intervocalic $*η$ began to evolve into $*ηk$ in the Ugric age, e.g. Hung. *egér* ‘mouse’, *fog* ‘tooth’, *fogoly* ‘partridge’, *jég* ‘ice’; this evolution could, however, go on after the dissolution of the Ugric community, and we find representatives of $*ηk$ in one branch only, e.g. Hung.

ág 'branch', *ég* 'burn', *fog* 'hold', *száguld* 'dash along', *tégész* 'quiver', *zug* 'nook', as well as *fej* 'head', *szőke* 'fair-haired'. The sporadic nature of this tendency is testified by the fact that it did not involve some word either in Hungarian or in Ob-Ugric: Hung. *hó* 'moon, month', *vő* 'son-in-law'.

(5—6) Décsy interprets the correspondence of *m* in Hung. *szēm* 'eye' and its Ob-Ugric cognates with PFU **lm* as a Ugric features (1965, 169). This is exemplified by Hung. *csomó* 'knot' (no Ob-Ugric cognates), *nyom* 'press' (though some uncertain cognates of the latter have *lm*, cp. MSzFE 1978, 488—489). The same applies to Hung. *szív* 'heart' and its family. However, this word comes from PFU **δVm*, cp. Finnish *sydän*. On the other hand, Hung. *velő* 'marrow', Vog. *wäləm*, Ostyak *wäləm* have preserved (**δ >*) *l*. Ob-Ugric cognates of Hung. *hamu* 'ashes' have also preserved both consonants (or, their representatives): Vog. *kōləm*, *χūləm*, Ostyak *kajəm*, *χəjem* < PU **kyδ'ymy*.

(7) It would be difficult to explain *r* in Hung. *három* 'three' and Vog. *kōrəm*, *χūrəm* as opposed to *l* in other languages (e.g. Ostyak *koləm*, *χələm*) as due to mere chance (convergence), since a change *l > r* is unusual in Finno-Ugric languages. In fact, what this phenomenon reflects is that Hungarian is perhaps somewhat closer to Vogul than to Ostyak — a conclusion not shared by Gulya (1977, 117—118), see below.

(8) The vowels *í, i* in Hung. *ín* 'sinew', *nyíl* 'arrow', *nyirok* 'lymph' come from an earlier **ĩ*; judging from Vogul cognates, we can posit a velar, illabial, and non-low vowel in Old Vogul as well as Proto-Ob-Ugric, too (cp. Honti, forthcoming).

(9) In contradiction to É.K. Sal, I think in the cases when all three Ugric languages, or Hungarian and one of the Ob-Ugric languages, have a palatal labial vowel, we cannot deny the existence of a Proto-Ugric palatal labial (which is not an innovation in the Ugric age, but the preservation of this vowel seems to be a good argument for the relatedness of Ugric languages). Sal claims that 19 items containing such a vowel out of the 128 front-vowel Ugric etymologies she investigated are too few (Sal 1968, 456); in fact, this is 15% which is far from being a negligible proportion, though one or two words have to be deleted as the labiality of the vowel is secondary (loc. cit.). As for the rest, she has the following to say: "Jetzt taucht schon auch die Frage der Labialität im Ugrischen ja sogar im Finnisch-ugrischen auf. Solche Übereinstimmungen könnten darauf hindeuten, daß es einen kleinen ungarischen Dialekt geben würde, der einige Wörter mit vorderen Labialvokalen aufbewahrt hätte" (357). In disagreement with Sal, we can by no means accept as supporting the above hypothesis the argument that Hungarian has some words containing *ü* or *ö* whose cognates in related languages exhibit illabials. On the other hand, even those etymologies lacking a Hungarian component that have palatal labials both in Finnish and in Ob-Ugric are in favour of

labial vowels: Finnish *kynsi* ~ Ostyak *kõñč* ~ Vogul *künš* 'nail', Finnish *sysi* ~ Ostyak *sěj* ~ Vogul *sül̃i* 'coal'.

(10) The ablative *l* in adverbials and postpositions is undoubtedly of Ugric origin (Liimola 1963, 167 [with reference to some unsubstantiated views of others about further relations of this inflection]; Gulya 1974a, 54; Janurik 1976, 22), e.g. Hung. *alól* 'from below', *közül* 'from between', Vog. *kotal*, *ɣotel* 'whence', Ostyak *tältä* 'hence'.

(11) "Adverbial participles (gerunds) are an independent Hungarian development" a university textbook on the history of Hungarian asserts (Bárczi—Benkő—Berrár 1967, 206). The authors further contend that the Hungarian gerundial suffix *va/ve* is a variant of the participle suffix *ó/ö* and that *ván/vén* is a compound of *va/ve* and the case ending *n* (op. cit. 326—327, 333). In my opinion, it is rather Kispál who is right in saying that *va/ve* is related to the Vogul and Ostyak *m* verbal suffix (of Ugric origin) and in counting Hung. *ván/vén*, Ostyak *m̃n/min*, *m̃n*, *man* suffixes as Ugric heritage (Kispál 1968, 272). We have to add, however, that the vocalic element of the Ostyak suffix is not necessarily a lative suffix; its origin is obscure, we can only ascertain that in some Ostyak nominal derivational suffixes, in certain dialects high, in others low vowels are found (Sauer, 1967 *passim*).

(12) From an underlying **nä*- 'side' of Uralic origin (cp. Liimola 1963, 121; MSzFE 1978, 470—471), a family of case suffixes came into being in Proto-Ugric:

	loc.	abl.	all.
Hungarian	<i>nott</i>	<i>nól</i>	<i>ni</i>
Tavda Vogul	<i>nāt/nāt</i>	<i>nāl/nāl</i>	<i>nā/nā</i>
Vakh Ostyak	<i>nāt/nat</i>	—	<i>nə</i>

(cp. further Szinnyei 1922, 65, 1927, 131, 133, 137; Zsirai 1937, 147; Décsy 1965, 169; Hajdú 1973, 123 ff.).

(13) The momentaneous verbal suffix *p* is generally taken to be of Ugric origin (Szinnyei 1922, 110; 1927, 71; Zsirai 1937, 147; Décsy 1965, 170), e.g. Hung. *állapodik* 'settle', *ülepedik* 'precipitate'.

(14) The denominal verbal suffix *h* in Hung. *bűnhődik* 'expiate', *vénhedik* 'become decrepit' etc. also seems to be of Ugric origin (Szinnyei 1922, 116; 1927, 80; Zsirai 1937, 147; cp. also Szabó 1904, 38).

(15) The *t* of Hung. *tal(an)/tel(en)* and Vog. *tal/tāl* composite caritive suffix has its cognates in Finno-Permian and all these are related to Finno-Permian abessive (Szinnyei 1922, 91—92; 1927, 103—104; Gulya 1974a, 54; cp. Décsy 1965, 172; Hakulinen 1968, 150—151).

(16) All three Ugric languages have a noun variant of the numeral 'two' derived from dual **k*: Hung. *kettő* ~ Vog. *kitiγ* ~ Ostyak *kätkən* (Décsy 1965, 169; MSzFE 1978, 361 with further references).

(17) In the Hung. pronoun *ő* 'he' a **η* suffix has disappeared and the same suffix is hiding in the corresponding Vogul and Ostyak pronouns (MSzFE 1978, 510). Since it is missing from other related languages, I take it to be another Ugric feature.

(18) Hung. *tetű* 'louse' and its Ob-Ugrian cognates are supposed to contain a suffix of Ugric origin (cp. MSzFE 1978, 631). Though this suffix turns up in one item only, it cannot be due to mere chance that we find the same suffix in the same word in each of the three Ugric cognates.

(19) The Ostyak *-ηaj* element, corresponding to Hung. *-kály* in *harkály* 'woodpecker' and Vog. *-χéj*, *-khaj*, is reported (in MSzFE 1971, 267) to be a derivational suffix. It is, in fact, a rather common suffix in Ostyak (cp. Sauer 1967, 154 ff.); we also have some data of it in Vogul (Honti 1976, 109); so the idea that it is not only the stem but also the suffix of Hung. *harkály* 'woodpecker' that is of Ugric origin is rather challenging though we have to admit that a simple item is quite meagre evidence.

(20) Ugric languages are also connected by the identical order of possessive personal endings: stem + Px + Cx for nouns and both the former and stem + Cx + Px for postpositions. Examples of the latter order are: Hung. *utánam* 'after me' (<*út* 'way'), Vog. *ām jōrtlām* 'with me' (<*jort* 'fellow'), Ostyak *ma χōšajem* 'to me' (<*χōš*, cp. *χāt*: *ějχātʃon* 'eleven' [MSzFE 1971, 304–305]) (Szinyei 1922, 102–103; Décsy 1965, 169; Hajdú 1973, 70–71; Gulya 1974a, 54; Seilenthal 1976, 4).

(21) It has long been known that all the three members of the Ugric group mark the definite and indefinite character of the object on the verb whereas in the Finno-Permic branch it is only Mordvin that exhibits subjective and objective (i.e. definite) conjugations. It is equally well-known that verb forms of the two systems of conjugation are constructed by different morphological means in each of the three languages, the only coincidence being that the forms of the 3rd person singular (single object) are derived from the respective personal pronouns through agglutination; rules of using 'subjective' or 'objective' conjugation differ from language to language (or at least between Hungarian and the Ob-Ugric languages). As there are variants of 3rd person singular verb forms made up by agglutinated personal pronouns or otherwise in other related languages having only one type of conjugation as well, this duality is regarded by some people to go as far as to the Uralic period (Hajdú 1973, 74 ff.; Gulya 1974a, 54–55), others take it to be Ugric heritage (Décsy 1965, 170) or at least ascribe its beginnings to the Ugric period (Janurik 1976, 20–22); still others deny even that possibility (Lakó 1968, 18–19; Sauvageot 1975, 148). Though Bárczi (1963b, 57–58; see also Berrár 1957, 175–176) claims personal suffixes both on nouns and verbs to be of Proto-Hungarian origin, yet he does not separate sharply this common feature of the three related languages from each other and tries to bridge the gap

between Hungarian and Ob-Ugric by a strange contradictory explanation: "There are both subjective and objective conjugations in Hungarian as well as in Vogul and Ostyak, which is to be emphasized because these latter are the closest relatives of Hungarian: these two languages lived the for longest time more or less together with Hungarian. However, though Vogul and Ostyak distinguish subjective and objective conjugations actually much more strictly than Hungarian, they express the difference by widely different devices; therefore it is out of the question that the double conjugation took shape in the period of the Ugric unity. Nevertheless, there must be some connection between the Hungarian and the Ob-Ugric phenomenon. All this can hardly be imagined in any other way than assuming the Ugric mentality to have been characterized by a distinction drawn between the functions of definite and indefinite objects though at the time of Ugric coexistence no final linguistic means of expressing this distinction — at least not verbal forms — were established" (Bárczi 1974, 11–12).

The Uralic/Finno-Ugric origin of the two types of conjugation can only be mentioned as a hypothesis; however, the fact that all the three Ugric languages have an objective conjugation and that the inflection of the 3rd person singular was the result of the agglutination out of the respective personal pronoun cannot be due to mere chance. In eastern Ostyak dialects we find a *te*(γ) ending, too, derived from a demonstrative pronoun (Steinitz 1938, 697; Hajdú 1973, 142 f.; Honti 1976, 91, 94–95). Hajdú (op. cit. 75) suggests that this verbal object marker on the verb could evolve earlier, too, from the demonstrative pronoun. But then a verbal personal ending of that origin cannot be reconciliated with Rédei's contention that the verbal personal ending coming from the 3rd person singular personal pronoun was originally meant to denote the definiteness of the actor (subject) and only later became, by implication, a marker of the object on the verb (Rédei 1966, 118 ff.). I think Hajdú's explanation is quite satisfactory on that point: "The 3rd person pronoun . . . which . . . was agglutinated into a verbal personal ending must have been a pronoun of accusative value (personal or demonstrative) before becoming a suffix" (Hajdú 1973, 76).

(22) Let us now quote the following from Seilenthal, who has investigated the postpositions in Ostyak: "Those meaning 'below', 'before', etc. undoubtedly existed in the Ugric age (and before), and there was also a division according to the main directions in space, the so-called "direction triplicity"; but the exact linguistic means they were expressed by are impossible to reconstruct unequivocally. Thus we can enumerate but a few postpositions

as belonging to the Ugric age: *uAti*, *χōša* and possibly *wūrŋ*” (Seilenthal 1976, 7). “Nominalization seems to be a common Ugric feature. In place adverbials of Ugric languages there is a morphological distinction between postposition and adverb, e.g. Ostyak *itpənə* ~ *itŋ*, *kimpijŋ* ~ *kamən*; Vog. *jol(i)-pält* ~ *jolən*, *numi-pält* ~ *numən*; Hung. *alatt* ~ *alant*, *alul* ‘below’, *fölött* ~ *fent* ‘above’” (loc. cit.). Of these, what is certainly Ugric is *által* ‘through’ (MSzFE 1967, 86–87), *elő(re)* ‘ahead’ (1967, 148–149), *hozzá* ‘to’ (1971, 304–305).

(23) It is well-known again that all the three languages have verbal prefixes. Even though these prefixes may not be of Ugric origin, the existence of the category itself is another proof of a one-time Ugric unity, as can be seen from Zsirai’s words: “As for the Ugric origin of Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostyak verbal prefixes, we can adduce almost no positive argument for it, but a good deal against. Hungarian prefixes, only three or four of which have etymological correspondents among Ob-Ugric prefixes, obviously took shape in the separate life of Hungarian. Their development began in Old (possibly in Early) Proto-Hungarian while a fuller morphological and semantic shaping took place, as demonstrated by written records, in historic ages: in the final period of Old and in Middle Hungarian. Assuming that Proto-Ugric, the common ancestor of Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostyak was practically homogeneous, the conclusion that the Vogul-Ostyak branch must have begun its separate life without verbal prefixes, just like Hungarian, seems justified. But this is not to deny that Proto-Ugric possessed all the necessary prerequisites that made possible, in fact prepared, the later emergence of verbal prefixes” (Zsirai 1933, 36). (Cp. further Gulya 1974a, 55.)

(24) The relevant literature reveals that researchers take the common word stock of Ugric languages to be the most reliable, even though not too highly valued, evidence of the Ugric unity. The reason why they do not attribute much importance to this factor is that there are, allegedly, no (or at least extremely few) common sound change tendencies and morphemes. In fact no one has ever reckoned up all this word stock compared with earlier layers of the proto-language; that is why I think it will be expedient here to put forward the inferences I have drawn from the material of the etymological dictionary entitled *A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei* [Finno-Ugric Elements of the Hungarian Word Stock = MSzFE 1967–1978]. I have counted the separate word families of Uralic, Finno-Ugric, and Ugric origin in the etymologies (not the entries!) of that book and tried to take into account the emendations and corrections published since the printing of the three volumes; in such cases I will refer to the source in parentheses. The list below presents the Hungarian words of Ugric origin and indicates which Ob-Ugric language exhibits their cognates. If any word is suggested in the dictionary to be connected with more than one Uralic, Finno-Ugric or Ugric family of

words, I will indicate the number of the appropriate etymology by an index. The list below contains the Hungarian elements of 162 Ugric etymologies; 135 of them have Vogul, 113 Ostyak cognats; this means that 83% of the Ugric etymologies have Vogul and 70% have Ostyak elements. Csúcs (1968, 395) made a statistics of 207 entries of the first volume of this dictionary; that also testifies that Hungarian has the most words in common with Vogul and Ostyak.

It is perhaps also useful to point out that the three volumes of the dictionary, after the modifications I found necessary to make, contain 181 (26%) Uralic, 357 (57%) Finno-Ugric, and 162 (23%) Ugric etymologies of Hungarian words, that is, 700 in all; however, I left out 19 etymologies as they are (1) compounds that are dealt with under another independent heading: *arc* 'face', *at-* (: *†atval* 'stepfather'), *embēr* 'man', *kengy-* (: *kengyel* 'stirrup'), *kile-* (: *kilenc* 'nine', *kilencven* 'ninety'), *-ven/-van* (: *kilencven* 'ninety', *negyven* 'forty', *nyolcvan* 'eighty', *ötven* 'fifty'), *-nek/-nak* 'for', *nép* 'people', *nyaláb* 'bundle', *nyár-* (: *nyárfa* 'poplar'), *nyirok* 'lymph', *óta* 'since'; (2) loanwords from the ancestors of Permian languages: *ezüst* 'silver', *-inc* (: *harminc* 'thirty'), *könyér* 'bread', *-nc* (: *kilenc* 'nine'), *küszöb* 'threshold'; (3) wrong etymologies (to my mind): *ír* 'write', *szekér* 'cart'. (Since for a word to be characterized as Finno-Ugric it is enough to find a cognate from a dozen Finno-Permian languages while to be characterized as Ugric it needs a cognate from one of the two Ob-Ugric languages, that is, as because of the number of languages concerned its Finno-Ugric origin is far easier to verify than its Ugric origin, 23% of Ugric words is to be regarded as a considerable proportion.)

List of Ugric words

Hungarian	Vogul	Ostyak
<i>ág</i> 'branch'	+	+
<i>ágyék</i> 'groin'	+	—
<i>akad</i> 'get stuck'	+	+
<i>alkot</i> 'create'	+	+
<i>alom</i> 'litter'	—	+
<i>által</i> 'by means of'	+	+
<i>apa</i> 'father'	+	+
<i>ár</i> 'flood'	+	+
<i>ara</i> ¹ 'betrothed'	—	+
<i>ara</i> ² id.	+	+
<i>arany</i> 'gold'	+	+
<i>aszik</i> 'wither'	+	+
<i>átkoz</i> 'curse' (cp. MNy. 68: 216—217)	—	+
<i>-val</i> : <i>†atval</i> 'stepfather'	—	+

Hungarian	Vogul	Ostyak
<i>ázik</i> 'soak' (cp. NyK 76: 369; DEWOS 747)	—	+
<i>bërke</i> 'catkin'	+	—
<i>buzog</i> 'bubble'	+	+
<i>csigolya</i> ¹ 'vertebra spondyle'	+	+
<i>csira</i> 'germ'	+	—
<i>csókol</i> 'kiss'	+	—
<i>csög</i> 'knot'	+	—
<i>csuhé</i> 'husks'	+	+
<i>dob</i> 'throw'	+	—
<i>domb</i> 'hill'	+	—
<i>ëb</i> 'dog'	+	+
<i>edz</i> 'train'	+	+
<i>éh</i> 'hunger'	+	+
<i>él</i> 'edge'	+	—
<i>elegyédik</i> 'mingle'	+	+
<i>elv</i> 'principle'	+	+
<i>enyelég</i> 'dally'	+	—
<i>enyv</i> 'glue'	+	+
<i>epër</i> 'strawberry'	+	+
<i>evet</i> ² 'squirrel'	—	+
<i>faggyú</i> 'tallow'	—	+
<i>fárad</i> 'tire'	+	—
<i>fedél</i> 'roof'	+	—
<i>fejt</i> 'strip' (cp. MNy. 74: 471)	+	+
<i>fék</i> 'halter'	+	+
<i>fekély</i> 'ulcer'	+	—
<i>fekete</i> 'black'	—	+
<i>fel</i> 'up'	+	+
<i>fér</i> ² 'find room in'	+	—
<i>fog</i> 'hold'	+	—
<i>fok</i> 'degree'	+	+
<i>folyik</i> 'flow'	+	+
<i>fú</i> 'blow'	—	+
<i>fulánk</i> 'sting'	+	+
<i>fű</i> 'grass'	+	+
<i>fűlik</i> 'get warm'	+	—
<i>füst</i> 'smoke'	+	+
<i>gyakik</i> ¹ 'coire'	+	+
<i>gyalu</i> ¹ 'plane'	+	—
<i>gyökér</i> 'root'	+	—

Hungarian	Vogul	Ostyak
<i>hág</i> 'step up' (cp. ESK 115)	+	+
† <i>hagyap</i> 'spit'	+	—
<i>hagy-</i> : <i>hagymáz</i> 'fever'	+	+
<i>haj</i> 'hair'	+	—
<i>hajol</i> 'bend'	+	—
<i>hajt</i> ¹ 'drive'	+	—
<i>hall</i> ² 'hear'	+	+
<i>hant</i> 'clod'	+	+
<i>harkály</i> 'woodpecker'	+	+
<i>hasad</i> 'burst'	+	—
<i>hattyú</i> 'swan'	+	+
<i>hěrvad</i> 'fade'	—	+
<i>hét</i> 'seven'	+	+
<i>hízik</i> 'fatten'	+	+
<i>hód</i> 'castor'	+	—
<i>hozzá</i> 'to him'	—	+
<i>húz</i> 'draw'	+	—
<i>i-</i> : <i>iafia</i> ¹ 'offspring'	+	+
<i>i-</i> : <i>ifjú</i> 'young'	—	+
<i>iránt</i> 'towards'	+	+
<i>íz</i> ¹ 'joint'	—	+
<i>jó</i> 'good'	+	+
<i>jut</i> 'arrive at'	+	+
<i>kedv</i> 'mood'	+	+
<i>keserű</i> 'bitter'	+	—
<i>keshed</i> 'become seedy'	+	+
<i>ki</i> 'out'	+	+
<i>kísér</i> 'accompany'	—	+
<i>kőles</i> 'millet'	+	—
<i>könnyű</i> 'light'	+	+
<i>könyörög</i> 'beg'	+	+
<i>köszörül</i> 'grind'	+	—
<i>lassú</i> 'slow'	+	+
<i>laza</i> 'loose'	+	+
<i>lě-</i> : <i>lěány</i> 'girl'	+	+
<i>lép</i> 'step'	+	+
<i>les</i> 'watch'	+	+
<i>ló</i> 'horse'	+	+
<i>loll</i> 'fore-leg ham'	+	+
<i>magyar</i> 'Hungarian'	+	+

Hungarian	Vogul	Ostyak
<i>malát</i> 'malt'	—	+
<i>marok</i> 'handful'	—	+
<i>márt</i> 'plunge'	+	+
<i>meleg</i> 'warm'	+	+
<i>méltó</i> 'worthy'	—	+
<i>mély</i> 'deep'	+	+
<i>mén</i> ¹ 'stallion'	—	+
<i>mënyül</i> 'become sprained'	+	+
<i>mer</i> 'dare'	+	+
<i>mered</i> 'loom'	+	+
<i>mese</i> 'tale'	—	+
<i>mét-: métháló</i> ¹ 'trawl'	+	+
<i>meztelen</i> 'naked'	+	—
<i>mosolyog</i> 'smile'	+	—
<i>-nál/-nél</i> 'at'	+	—
<i>nap</i> 'sun'	+	—
<i>nevet</i> 'laugh'	+	—
<i>nyék</i> 'grove'	+	+
<i>nyer</i> 'gain'	+	+
<i>nyerëg</i> 'saddle'	+	+
<i>nyolc</i> 'eight'	+	+
<i>nyom</i> ¹ 'trace'	+	+
<i>oldal</i> 'side'	+	+
<i>ólom</i> ¹ 'lead'	+	—
<i>olt</i> 'put out'	+	+
<i>ostor</i> 'whip' (cp. MSFOu 151: 299)	+	—
<i>óv</i> ¹ 'warn, protect'	+	+
<i>óv</i> ² id.	+	—
<i>ragad</i> 'stick'	+	—
<i>rajta</i> 'on it'	+	+
<i>rokkán</i> 'become crippled'	+	+
<i>rúg</i> 'kick'	—	+
<i>sajtó</i> 'press'	—	+
<i>-ság/-ség</i> ¹ '-ity'	+	—
<i>sellő</i> ¹ 'mermaid'	+	—
<i>sötét</i> 'dark'	+	+
<i>süpped</i> 'sink'	+	—
<i>süt</i> 'bake'	+	—
<i>száguld</i> 'dash along'	+	+
<i>szalu</i> 'axe'	+	+

Hungarian	Vogul	Ostyak
<i>szár</i> 'stalk'	+	+
<i>szédül</i> 'feel dizzy'	+	+
<i>szég</i> 'nail'	+	—
<i>szél</i> 'wind'	+	+
<i>szik</i> 'cotyledon'	+	—
<i>szó</i> 'word'	+	+
<i>szorgalom</i> ¹ 'diligence'	+	+
<i>szőke</i> ¹ 'fair'	—	+
<i>szőr</i> 'hair'	+	—
<i>szül</i> 'bear'	+	—
<i>táj</i> ¹ 'landscape'	—	+
<i>tál</i> 'dish'	+	—
<i>táltos</i> 'sorcerer'	+	+
<i>tégész</i> 'quiver'	+	+
<i>tekint</i> 'glance'	—	+
<i>tér</i> 'room'	—	+
<i>téved</i> 'err'	+	+
<i>tidó</i> 'birch bark'	+	+
<i>torok</i> 'throat'	+	+
<i>tűz</i> 'fire'	+	+
<i>utál</i> 'hate'	+	+
<i>ük</i> 'great-great-grandparent'	+	—
<i>üsző</i> 'heifer'	—	+
<i>vár</i> 'wait'	+	—
<i>vese</i> 'kidney'	+	—
<i>záp</i> 'addle'	+	—
<i>zug</i> 'nook'	—	+
<i>zsugorodik</i> 'shrink'	+	—

Note: I counted the word *sért* 'hurt' and its family, qualified as 'Ugric' in the dictionary, to belong to the Finno-Ugric layer (NyK 80, 377—378); the verbs *vész* 'take' and *visz* 'carry', also in disagreement with the dictionary, were taken to be splitted versions of a single stem and likewise ascribed to the Finno-Ugric word stock.

(25) It is to be emphasized that the name *magyar* 'Hungarian' has its cognates in Ob-Ugric languages, its Vogul correspondence is certain and is also an ethnic name: in fact, the inner name of the Voguls themselves; the doubtful Ostyak item denotes one of the Ostyak fratrias. Hung. *had*, apart from its meanings 'army; war; troop, band', in popular usage also has the

meanings 'clan, tribe' which supports our contention that it may be connected with the inner name of the Ostyaks.

(26) It is also important that the numerals from 1 to 6 common to all Finno-Ugric languages were supplemented by a few others: *hét* 'seven' was borrowed during the Ugric age (MSzFE 1971, 283–284). The root of *nyolc* 'eight' coincides with that of its Ob-Ugric translations. Though *kilenc* 'nine' does not correspond in any of its etymological elements to any of the Ob-Ugric numerals meaning 'nine', their construction is essentially identical (cp. MSzFE 1971, 366).

(27) The common core of Ugric religious life is revealed, on the one hand, by the dubiously etymologized *hagy-*: *hagymáz* 'fever', *isz* 'cancer etc.'; on the other, *rejt/révül* 'entrance/fall into trance' and *táltos* 'shaman', having perfectly verified Ob-Ugrian cognates.

(28) Hung. *iafia* 'offspring' (*i* 'daughter' + *a* possessive suffix of 3rd person in singular + *fi* 'son' + *a* possessive suffix of 3rd person in singular) is not only important because it has preserved the Hungarian cognate of Vogul and Ostyak 'daughter' but also because it shows that all three Ugric languages formed their respective words for 'child' as a collective compound of etymologically identical elements, thus these words may also be of Ugric origin.

(29) Within the Ugric word stock, terms of horse-breeding are of particular importance, a fact that Munkácsi pointed out as early as the beginning of this century (Munkácsi 1901, 71). Still, later on he and Mészöly had to fight for the recognition of horse-breeding as an ancient feature (see e.g. Mészöly 1929, 1930; Munkácsi 1931); what is more, Bárczi also had to state his opinion on this matter in connection with a paper by Gunda (1943): "The ethnographic comparison, if it is right — I cannot comment on that — means, at most, that the influence of equestrian-nomadic peoples on Ugrians may not have been as profound, and horse-breeding as general and extensive, as with other peoples mentioned by Gunda" (Bárczi 1943, 295). "There is no room for doubt that Ugrians knew, used, and bred horses — there is ample ethnographic evidence for that (cp. Zsirai 1937, 149) — though of course we shouldn't think of some really large-scale Ugrian horse-breeding comparable with that of the conquering Hungarians" (Bárczi 1943, 295 ff.). I think Munkácsi's reasoning about the lack of mounted warriors in Ob-Ugrian folk narrative as an alleged evidence against Ugrian horse-breeding is also relevant: "...this is but natural in a heroic poetry the principal characters of which are princes of yore having lived in the present territory and worshipped as idols in those parts... whose wartime deeds consist mainly of sieges of fortresses, single combats and the mass slaughter of enemy where horses can play no role. Quite different is the case of the deities whose worship is not confined to a given territory and the songs of whom are not about events of a relatively

near past. In the latter, horses do appear even if not used for military purposes" (Munkácsi 1931, 17). "In the Vogul bear epic there is a notable tradition of a fragment of a *hunting on horseback* where the hunter pursues the game »on his ice-white-haired, snow-white-haired stallion« . . . It cannot be due to mere chance that, according to Herodotus, the inhabitants of the fourth province north-east of the Scythians' land called Jyrkas usually hunt on horseback . . . An especially powerful ethnographic evidence of the one-time horse-breeding is the popular and widespread *sacrifice of horses*. Songs emphasize among delicacies of food sacrifices »a dish laden with foal fat and colt greases« and »one leg of a fattened horse, half breast of a fattened horse« which would hardly be imaginable if horses had not been domestic animals of the peoples closely related to Hungarians" (op. cit. 18). Hungarian words of Ugric origin connected with horse-breeding are well-known for the reader: *ló* 'horse', *fék* 'halter', *nyerég* 'saddle', *ostor* 'whip' (cp. Joki 1973, 299), dialectal *kür* 'harness', *másodfű ló* (~Vog. *kit pum luw*) 'two-year old colt', *harmadfű ló* (~Vog. *χūrēm pum luw, kurem pum tēm luw*) 'three-year old horse' (cp. Zichy 1923, 50).

In fact, *tëgëz* 'quiver' is also an evidence belonging to this field: Ob-Ugrians hunting on foot have preserved a type of quiver fastened on their belts, characteristic of equestrian peoples. "Thus, the belt-quiver of our Ob-Ugrian relatives is the remnant of an earlier age as it is usually replaced by back-quivers, more suitable for pedestrians, when horse-breeding ceases" (Hajdú 1962, 83).

1.3. In some cases further investigation would be necessary to form a satisfactory opinion about the age and proto-language connections of certain phenomena.

(1) Szinnyi (1922, 112) maintained that there was a Ugric *l* causative suffix though later, doubtfully, he attached to it a Zyrian cognate (1927, 73) (cp. also Kövesi 1965, 205). Györke (1934, 38–39) and Lehtisalo (1936, 165) supplemented this family of suffixes with Samoyed cognates. Collinder, however, does not mention a Uralic/Finno-Ugric causative or transitive *l* (Collinder 1960); his reason eludes me. This is not to be ranged with Ugric features (as yet), but until further investigation it can be regarded older than the Ugric age with certain reservations only.

(2) Perhaps we could classify as a Ugric phenomenon momentaneous *m* and *n*, e.g. Hung. *villámlík* 'be lightning', Old Hung. *félemik* 'take fright', Vog. *putm-* 'stab' (cp. *put-* 'poke'), Ostyak *čoyəm-* 'give a whistle' (cp. *čoy-* 'whistle'); Hung. *villan* 'flash', Vog. *takn-* 'become stuck', Ostyak *lokın-* 'get caught'. We can only do this conditionally as the literature contains reference to the fact that similar suffixes are to be found in a few other related languages though their function is not given unanimously in the reports.

There is (supposed to be) momentaneous *m* in Votyak and Zyrian (Medveczky 1912, 16; Szinnyi 1922, 108; 1927, 69; Györke 1934, 44; Lehtisalo 1936, 114; Kövesi 1965, 233–235). However, according to Medveczky, Votyak *m* as a suffix can be detected by the help of related languages only (loc. cit.), and Alatyrev, tackling Votyak suffixes containing *m*, does not at all mention a momentaneous *m* (1973); Žilina in his description of the Upper-Sysola Zyrian dialect reports on an inchoative *m* (1975, 131–132).

There is, again reputedly, a momentaneous *n* in Finnish and Lapponian (Szinnyi 1922, 108; 1927, 69; Györke 1934, 50; Lehtisalo 1936, 132–133). However, the *ne* of Finnish data quoted in these papers is, in fact, a translative denominal verbal suffix (Hakulinen 1968, 234–235). Similar function is attributed to Lapponian *n* as well (Ruong 1943, 171; Collinder 1949, 118); Lagercrantz reports on a deverbal inchoative suffix (1929, 230): *pissàn̄t* 'stop; get about again' < *Pisso't* 'tarry'; Collinder, too, talks of a deverbal *n* (op. cit. 119) which, however, makes intransitive verbs: *l'udd'anit* 'get split, burst' < *l'odd'ūt* 'split', *pissan̄eht* 'hold (intr.), stop' < *piäsōht* 'remain', *tšōggānit* 'gather (intr.) together' < *tšōggēht* 'gather, pick'; according to Ruong, "diese Verba [Passiva auf -ānit] . . . besitzen gewöhnlich momentane Aktionsart" (op. cit. 172). I don't want to deny that; but Ruong's data, as well as those of Lagercrantz, resemble those of Collinder, e.g. *aggjanit* 'is hindered' < *aggjet* 'hinder', *bak'čānit* 'begin to hurt', cp. *bæk'čit* 'begin to cause pain', *bāk'čās* 'bad, painful', that is, *-āni-* serves forming intransitive verbs.

Collinder does not talk about a PU/PFU *n* suffix but mentions an inchoative *m* of the Uralic age (1960, 277). Inchoative and momentaneous aspects are obviously connected, therefore I attach some importance to *m* as an undoubtedly momentaneous suffix in Ugric languages; nevertheless, I do not want to separate it, historically speaking, from its inchoative correspondents in other Uralic languages.

(3) Of the cognates of Hungarian conditional *na/ne*, *ná/né* it is only Vogul *n*, *nuw* and Ob-Selkup *ni*, *nē* that exhibit optative and conditional function (Collinder 1960, 307; Itkonen 1966, 277; Hajdú 1973, 137). Should it prove true that in Selkup this function is secondary and in Hungarian as well as Vogul it is of the Ugric age, we will then have found another Ugric features.

(4) In Proto-Ob-Ugric, the suffix of 1st person plural in subjective (i.e. indefinite) conjugation as well as among possessive endings was "rounded vowel + **γ*" (Honti 1976, 110). In Hungarian objective conjugation the same function is fulfilled by *(j)uk/(j)ük* (cp. Berrár 1957, 50 on Hungarian verbal personal suffixes). I suspect that the corresponding Proto-Ugric suffix must have been "rounded vowel + **k*" though I realize that this statement will have to be verified.

1.4. Gulya (1974a, 53) mentions vowel harmony and stress of the first syllable as further Ugric peculiarities. Proto-Ugric has indeed preserved and handed down these features of Finno-Ugric origin. However, they can play, at most, a secondary role in the investigation of closer relationships of Ugric languages, since PFU vowel harmony has been preserved in Finnish, Mordvin and Cheremis, too.

Neither should the fact be over-estimated that certain ancient features have been preserved in just one or two of closely related languages. Within the Ugric branch, only Vogul has kept the accusative inflection containing *m*, but this fact does not modify our picture of its kinship relations. Neither does the lack of the original plural suffix alter our opinion that Hungarian, Permian and Cheremis are members of the Finno-Ugric family

1.5. Gulya once argued that Hungarians had lived together with the ancestors of Vasjagan and Verkhne-Kalimsk groups of Eastern Proto-Ostyaks as well as those of Southern Voguls in the age of Ugric unity (1967, 37 ff.; cp. further 1964, 123). His arguments would be the following: (1) in infinitives of the Ostyak dialects referred to there appears to be — not consistently though — an *n* element that he says is etymologically identical with the *n* of the Hungarian infinitive; (2) PFU **s*, **š* is represented initially after *j*- by a hiatus just like in Hungarian (Gulya does not make clear at this point whether he has ancient identity or independent convergent development in mind); (3) Hung. *fék* 'halter', *szekér* 'cart', *arany* 'gold' and *ír* 'write' have Ostyak cognates in eastern dialects only. Arguments under (1) and (2), being isolated phenomena, must not be relied upon; it is especially the late sound change involved that is inadequate to reinforce Gulya's contention. The suggested Ugric etymologies for *szekér* 'cart' and *ír* 'write' are unacceptable from a phonetic point of view. The other two words have Vogul cognates, too . . . About Southern Vogul we can find the following "evidence" (loc. cit.): "This regular notational peculiarity in our opinion definitely shows that the original initial **p* changed in Southern Vogul dialects. Whether the sound denoted by the letter *b* is *b* or *β* is not ascertainable from old notation. The frequent occurrence of the letter *b* suggests a *b* sound. However, because of *p* ~ *b* notational variation we can also suspect that the sound in question is *β*. (The latter is supported by the fact that *β* occurs in similar positions in some Lapp dialects . . .)" (?!) (Gulya 1964, 123). "The change of original initial **p* is no doubt a recent development, in fact, one within Vogul itself. However, it is remarkable in our opinion from a Hungarian point of view, too, that this change took place in southern dialects comparatively closest to Hungarian" (loc. cit.). There is no denying that I cannot see clearly whether Gulya ascribes any demonstrative force to this parallelism or not. These observations of his are the more interesting as without ever having modified them, recently he

has declared the following: "The demonstrative force of scattered facts torn out of context is, anyway, very slight. As for a closer contact between Hungarian and Vogul, the example of Hung. *három*, Vog. *χūrām*, *kōrām* 'three' may be right. On the other hand, the fact that the only Finno-Ugric languages lacking even a vestige of ancient accusative *m* are Hungarian and Ostyak or that the Hungarian vowel *á* [read *ā*] has its almost entirely regular correspondent in Ostyak would prove a closer connection of Hungarian and Ostyak if that proof were not just as casual and feeble as that referred to in the case of Hungarian and Vogul, and the like. The question also arises how the statement that Hungarian and Vogul are more closely connected is to be interpreted if we think of the fact that the Ugric unity divided into Old Hungarian and Ob-Ugric. Where were Ostyaks who were part and parcel of the Ob-Ugric community during the 'Vogul—Hungarian' unity?!" (Gulya 1977, 117—118).

1.6. Gulya mentions (1977, 117—118), in connection with *r* in Hung. *három* 'three' ~ Vog. *kōrām*, that the conclusion about a closer contact between those two languages than between Hungarian and Ostyak would be false. As we have just pointed out, the $l > r$ change in the same word in both languages, in fact, suggests more intimate relations. The same seems to be borne out by the fact that Hungarian has more words in common with Vogul than with Ostyak. This can perhaps be explained as follows: during the slow process of the dissolution of the Ugric unity, the ancestors of Hungarians remained in connection for a somewhat longer period with that group of the ancestors of Ob-Ugrians from which after the forking of the also quite short-lived Ob-Ugric community the Voguls descended.

2. For a satisfactory clarification of the respective relations among Ugric languages we shall also have to take into account with (a) common innovations, (b) the preservation, respectively, the dropping, of Finno-Ugric features, and (c) the differences they exhibit (cp. Gulya 1977, 117). Taken together, all these factors will perhaps provide a final answer for the as far open questions of the Proto-Ugric and the Ugric period. Scholars agree that, in spite of the allegedly slight number of common features, a loose Ugric unity must have subsisted for quite a long time (Zsirai 1937, 147; Hajdú 1962, 86—87; 1972, 28—29; Fodor 1975, 90—91; Gulya 1977, 115; but cp. Zsirai 1943, 34). Sauvageot seems to consider the view about Ugric unity, even in that form, to be exaggerated: he brands it as "dogme sacro-saint des comparatistes hongrois" (Sauvageot 1975, 148). It is he, that has recently once again expressed a contrary opinion concerning the Ugric unity (Sauvageot 1976), but — as far as I see — he has not succeeded in finding new arguments or presenting the old ones in a convincing way against the one-time existence of the Ugric proto-language. As we have seen, Gulya acknowledges the existence

of Ugric unity, but denies that of Proto-Ob-Ugric: he takes the correspondences between Vogul and Ostyak to be secondary features due to geographical proximity (Gulya 1977, 118). This opinion is probably ill-founded and inconsiderate since Steinitz at the places referred to by Gulya does not declare anything like that; on the contrary, he points out a striking similarity between the Northern Vogul and Northern Ostyak vowel systems. In Gulya's view correspondences of verbal personal endings and a number of derivational suffixes (cp. Ganschow 1965; Sauer 1967) as well as possessive suffixes must also be secondary... From these statements, without the slightest attempt at proving them, he concludes with self-evident ease: "Within the supposed Ob-Ugric unity, what is really common, the remnant of an ancient community after all, and what is the result of some kind of convergence? Seeing all this, wouldn't it be more appropriate — if only as a working hypothesis — to suppose that Proto-Ugric immediately split into three daughter languages rather than undergoing two binary divisions? Perhaps even adding the concession that two of the later independent languages may have spent some insignificant stretch of time together. Putting it differently: I think, partly on panchronic considerations, that in the present stage of research it is more expedient to posit independent proto-forms of the three Ugric languages Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak without any further connection than to accept the explanation involving bipartition" (Gulya 1977, 118). This is not worth any further comment; however, we should ask when Proto-Ob-Ugric could come to an end. Décsy (1965, 154) says around 1,000 A. D., that is, later than the division of Permian languages (about 800 A. D.). Janurik (1976, 19) presents the same data; presumably on the basis of Décsy's genealogical scheme. (However, in Janurik's scheme there is a disturbing mistake: Yenisei-Samoyed — i.e. Enets — has been omitted and the whole row shifted one place to the left.) This date must be a grave error as neither archeological results nor the two Ob-Ugric languages themselves support it: "Vogul and Ostyak are sister languages as well, but differ more sharply than Zyrian and Votyak" (Pápay 1922b, 45). The separation of the two Ob-Ugric peoples, it is reasonable to suppose, took place around the beginning of our era (Honti, forthcoming); and as the end of the Ugric unity could ensue in the first half, or even at the beginning, of the 1st millennium B. C., we can reckon with something like a thousand-year-long Ob-Ugric era.

3. The foregoing can be summarized as follows: there is no reason to doubt the one-time existence of the Ugric unity and Proto-Ugric: in the nearly three thousand years elapsed since their separation, Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostyak have preserved quite a few features that must have taken shape in the period, following the Finno-Ugric age, when ancestors of these peoples lived together for a rather long stretch of time but presumably in a compara-

tively loose community. The looseness of that community need not be emphasized as with those standards of the means of acquiring food relatively vast territories were needed to feed quite small groups of people, therefore the density of population was necessarily low.

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THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF COMPLEX SENTENCES CONTAINING THE CONJUNCTION *HOGY* 'THAT' IN HUNGARIAN

By

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1. In Hungarian at least two uses of the conjunction *hogy* 'that' are to be recognized; the distinction between them can be traced back a long way in grammatical tradition. On the one hand, there is a semantically more meaningful *hogy*, used for expressing adverbial relations, that can be replaced by conjunctions of time or cause. On the other, there is the so-called 'empty' *hogy* which is equivalent to French *que*, English *that* or Russian *что* in that governs complement clauses sentences like *Tudom, hogy sokat dolgozol* 'I know that you work a lot'; *Azt mondta, hogy jól érzi magát* 'He said that he felt all right'; *Ismert tény, hogy az emberi testmagasság növekszik* 'It is a well-known fact that human body height is on the increase'; etc. (The use of the Hungarian conjunction, of course, differs from that of *que*, *that* or *что* in certain respects.) Meaningful *hogy* is not too frequent in present-day Hungarian, sometimes it is even a bit old-fashioned. In the present paper we shall explore the semantic relations obtaining between components of sentences containing empty *hogy*. It is not only their great functional load that arouses our interest in such sentences but also the particular problems they involve, extending over a number of languages.

The sentence type in question has long since been attracting the attention of grammarians of various languages. It may be connected with as important syntactico-semantic problems as sentence modality or factivity. This time, complement clauses will be analysed from another point of view that is applicable almost independently of those just mentioned and has to be connected with them by a mutual checking of results as well as a mutual interpretation of theories. We shall examine to which semantic class the 'headwords' that appear in the main clause may belong (e.g. *tudom* 'I know', *mondta* 'said', and *tény* 'fact' in the above sentences) and the semantic relation they have vis-à-vis the subordinate clause.

To answer our questions we shall set up a hypothesis that closely connects our topic with philosophical issues of the linguistic reflection of reality and contributes to the solution of certain problems in philosophy and epistemology. In what follows we shall, very briefly, touch upon these latter correspondences as well.

2. The fact that complement clauses containing the conjunction *hogy* (*que, that, umo*, etc.) are semantically restricted in various ways is well known (cf. e.g. Andreyev 1972, 740—741). It has been observed that the 'headword' in the main clause predominantly falls into the semantic categories of 'perception', 'mental activity', 'utterance' etc., while names of objects or living creatures cannot occur in that role. Grammarians have more or less unanimously declared that the appropriate word of main clauses concerned must in general exhibit an *abstract* or *figurative* meaning. Verbs of perception that are usually regarded as constituting an intermediate category between words of concrete and abstract meaning are accordingly classified under the latter heading. The usual basis for the distinction between concrete and abstract meaning is above all whether the word refers to a perceptible object or not.

However, some hardly negligible objections can be adduced against the criterion of abstractness or figurativeness.

(1) Words denoting sounds uttered and talking which take *hogy*, one of the most representative groups of words within our sentence type, including, in Hungarian, a large number of onomatopes as well — refer to a perceptible phenomenon. Examples are *mond* 'say', *susog* 'whisper', *kiabál* 'shout', *ordít* 'roar', *dadog* 'stammer', *nyög* 'groan'; *dal* ~ *ének* 'song', *szó* 'word', *kiáltás* 'shout(n.)' etc, e.g. *Azt ordította, hogy...* 'He shouted that...', *Azt a dalt énekelte, hogy...* 'He sang the song that...', etc.

(2) A number of quite abstract words (referring, however, to entities in tangible reality) do not take *hogy*-clauses or quasi-*hogy*-clauses; such *az állat* 'animal', *növény* 'plant', *tárgy* 'object', *termel* 'produce' etc., e.g. **Az a tárgy, hogy ceruza* 'The object that (conj.) pencil', **Azt termeli, hogy hő* 'It produces that (conj.) heat'.

(3) There are other types of abstract and figurative words that cannot take the clause in question: *agrárkérdés* 'land question', *alkoholizmus* 'intemperance', *biokémia* 'biochemistry', *élvonal* 'forefront', *(tekintélye) aláhanyatlak* '(his reputation) declines', etc. E.g. **Érdeklő őt az a biokémia, hogy...* 'He is interested in the biochemistry that...'.

(4) Finally, we should not forget that the concepts of concreteness and abstractness have not been exactly (that is, satisfactorily) defined. The interpretation involving perceptibility is not always an adequate criterium. It is sufficient to think of the commonplace statement in semantics that names of actions (*futás* 'running', *kopogás* 'knocking' etc.) are abstract nouns. It is by no means evident that, for example, the verb *fut* 'run' should mean a perceptible action while the noun *futás* 'running' does not. What is more, many names of actions cannot take a *hogy*-clause either, even if names of results of the same actions do, cf. **Az a kiáltozás, hogy...* 'The (act of) shouting that...' though *Az a kiáltás, hogy* 'The shout that...' is all right. — What

eventually makes this theorem problematic is that 'concrete' = 'perceptible' and 'abstract' = 'imperceptible' are pairs of concepts coming from everyday thinking into linguistics and their philosophical relevance is not yet clarified.

These and other considerations make us conclude that even though the everyday concepts of concreteness and abstractness may provide some guidance in establishing the semantic rule desired we should not start out of the criterium of abstractness.

3. The following train of thoughts promises more adequate result. Let us take words of talking (*mondat* 'sentence', *kijelentés* 'statement', *kérdés* 'question', *válasz* 'answer'; *mond* 'say', *kérdez* 'ask', *válaszol* 'answer', etc.) that constitute one of the clearest group of 'headwords' for *hogy*-clauses. The denotations of the above words of talking in *hogy*-sentences are — with certain, for us not so important differences between verbs and nouns — sentences regarded (ontologically) as natural objects, that is, sentences or texts occurring in linguistic usage, being products of human society, having the most complex structure in nature. It is a feature of the self-reflecting character of language that words of talking represent sentences regarded as natural objects. (Of course, from another point of view, these reflecting devices themselves are also natural objects.) Within a complex sentence containing *hogy*, however, a sentence, the thing reflected, is also reflected in another way: by the subordinate clause. This latter type of reflection is a special one. Subordinate clauses — cf. e.g. *Azt mondta, hogy ő nem ér rá* 'He said that he did not have time'; *Az a mondat hangzott el, hogy ő nem ér rá* 'The sentence that he did not have time was uttered' — stand for an actual original sentence by giving its meaning on the one hand, and reflecting structurally, that is, qualitatively, that they are sentences themselves, according to certain essential characteristics on the other. Obviously, there is a possibility for the complement clauses subordinated to words of talking to copy the object sentence word by word. This form is known as literal quotation in *oratio obliqua* (reported speech). This special type of reflection is impossible in the case of physical objects. Of course, we can say sentences about physical objects too, but these will never represent the structure of those objects. (A sentence about the object denoted by the word *pohár* 'glass' will never resemble a glass.) Generally speaking, we have seen that words of talking can take *hogy*-clauses exactly because this type of subordinate clauses is able to reproduce 'natural' sentences more or less faithfully, i.e. it represents objects that are just the denotata of words of talking.

These considerations and other observations make us resort to a hypothesis that *hogy*-clauses can generally be primarily attached to by main-clause 'headwords' that denote a sentence, that is, whose referents are in some way sentence-like. What we mean here is that although our feelings,

thoughts, or judgements are not sentences to begin with, they are linguistically realized as sentences and are thus qualitatively allied with the concept of sentence.

4, In verifying our hypothesis, the determination of whether the referent of a given word corresponds to a sentence in the indicated way or not consists in a two step procedure. (a) We have examined the semantic relation of each 'headword' in our collected material to its complement clause from the point of view of whether it is the same as the relation between words of talking and their subordinate clauses. (b) If the answer turned out to be in the affirmative, we have further specified whether there is some independent psychological or epistemological argument proving that the denotatum corresponds to a sentence, that it is somehow sentence-like.

The working process of step (a) has been as follows.

First, we have turned our sentences (several hundred actual sentences) into a syntactically homogeneous set; we have practically 'brought them to a common denominator' in the following way.

Complex sentences containing *hogy* differ as to their syntactic form (subjective, objective, attributive, etc. clauses); nevertheless, there exists a syntactic form that all — except for a few — *hogy*-clauses can be reduced into: attributive clause. Examples of such transformations:

Örülök annak, hogy sikerült a vizsgád.	→	Örülök annak az e s e m é n y n e k, hogy sikerült a vizsgád.
'I am glad that your exam was successful.'		'I am glad about the event that your exam was successful.'
Köszönet illeti őt azért, hogy segített.	→	Köszönet illeti őt azért a c s e l e k v é s é r t, hogy segített.
'Thanks are due to him for his help.'		'Thanks are due to him for the action that he has helped (me).'

Let us note that sentences formed in this way are not equally frequent in actual usage. We do not usually utter *Azt a mondatot mondta, hogy...* 'He said the sentence that...' but rather *Azt mondta, hogy...* 'He said that...'. Yet, on a more abstract level they are grammatically as well as semantically regular. Behind the possibility of this transformation, there is the correlation which makes it justified in principle already observed by Zs. Simonyi in his monograph about Hungarian conjunctions (1872, cp. also Hadrovics 1969; Zsilka 1971) that subordinate clauses containing an empty *hogy* correspond and are equivalent to, a noun of abstract or general meaning. In our work we have directly adapted the procedure employed among others. by P. Kiparsky and C. Kiparsky (1970)

in detecting factive predicates. Relying on our intuition, we have complemented the main clause with an appropriate noun representing the subordinate clause (e.g. *tény* 'fact', *esemény* 'event', *cselekvés* 'action', *közlemény* 'communication', etc.) whenever the original sentence did not contain such a noun. Thus we have obtained a syntactically as well as in certain respects semantically homogeneous group of sentences. After that, we examined what kinds of nouns (either original or supplemented) figured in main clauses and what kinds of semantic relations held between components in both original and modified sentences.

5. After executing these transformations, our first step was to regard the main-clause noun governing the subordinate clause and the *hogy*-clause itself as one unit and to explore the 'external' relation of that complex to the rest of the main clause. Examples:

- [[*Örülök*] [*annak az eseménynek, hogy sikerült a vizsgád*]]
 '[[I'm glad about] [the event that your exam was successful]]';
 [[*Köszönet illeti őt*] [*azért a cselekvéséért, hogy segített*]]
 '[[Thanks are due to him for] [the action that he has helped me]]';
 [[*Gondolta*] [*azt a gondolatot, hogy az üzenet neki szól*]]
 '[[He thought] [the thought that the message was meant for him]]'.

On that basis, we have discerned two types of such sentences. (I) The semantic relation between the 'noun + subordinate clause' complex and the rest of the main clause is *free*. E.g. [[*Sétálni ment*] [*az után az esemény után, hogy befejezte munkáját*]] '[[He went for a walk] [after the event that he finished his work]]'. The component *sétálni ment* 'he went for a walk' can be replaced by any other verb phrase: *megebédelt* 'he had lunch', *rádiót hallgatott* 'he listened to the radio', *gondolataiba mélyedt* 'he became immersed in thought', *kinyitotta az ablakot* 'he opened the window', *megkönnyebbült* 'the felt relieved' etc. *az után, hogy befejezte a munkáját* 'after having finished his work'.

(II) The semantic relation between the two components in question is *bound*, that is, the 'noun + subordinate clause' complex can only be attached to verbs of certain meanings. We may have [[*Várta*] [*azt az eseményt, hogy megérkezzen az autóbusz*]] '[[He was waiting for] [the event that the bus should arrive]]'; but not **Ette* 'he was eating', **mosta* 'he was washing', **ásta* 'he was digging' etc. *azt, hogy* . . . 'that . . .'. On the other hand, *azt kívánta* 'he wished', *látta* 'saw', *mondta* 'said' etc. may indeed be followed by *hogy* . . . 'that . . .'. In that case we witness a *chain-like semantic relationship*: the subordinate clause is not merely bound semantically to the related main-clause noun but to some further element(s) of the main clause as well.

The above division is based on whether the 'main-clause noun + subordinate clause' complex enters into the structure of the sentence as an

'optional' element or as a structural component determined by the valency of the main-clause verb or adjective. Thus clauses of time, manner, cause, etc. usually belong to type I, while subjective, objective and other strictly complement clauses to type II. The latter type also includes the so-called predicative clauses such as in *Az a véleményem, hogy revideálni kell a tervet* 'My opinion is that the plan has to be revised'.

6. In what follows we shall turn our attention towards type II exhibiting chain-like relationships as type I does not provide anything new, as compared to type II, from the point of view of our hypothesis.

The chain-like structures fall into the following two categories:

(1) In this group — as opposed to type I — there are at least two 'headwords': the noun representing the subordinate clause and the verb or nominal to which the former is closely attached, e.g. *Örülök — annak az eseménynek . . .* 'I am glad — about the event (that) . . .'; *Örvendetek — az az esemény . . .* 'To be welcomed — is the event (that) . . .'. Since in Hungarian the noun representing the subordinate clause and the anaphoric pronoun need not be explicit, the following type of sentences is also quite frequent in actual usage: *Örülök, hogy . . .* 'I am glad that . . .'; *Örvendetek, hogy . . .* 'It is to be welcomed that . . .'. *Örülök* 'I am glad' and *örvendetek* 'it is to be welcomed' in themselves maintain the same relation to the *hogy*-clause as to the noun *esemény* 'event' representing the subordinate clause or to both taken together. In other word, components of the following three strings are similarly related to each other:

[[*Örvendetek*] [*az esemény*]]
 '[[To be welcomed] [is the event]]'
 [[*Örvendetek*] [*hogy . . .*]]
 '[[To be welcomed] [is that . . .]]'
 [[*Örvendetek*] [*az az esemény, hogy . . .*]]
 '[[To be welcomed] [is the event that . . .]]'

Furthermore, this relation does not resemble that of words of talking and their *hogy*-clauses. It will be observed that the two main-clause components stand for two different referents, one of which is generally a characterization or qualification of the other where the latter exists (in various modes of existence) quite independently of its characterization or qualification. In the above example the event exists irrespective of whether anyone is glad about it.

This relation can be tested in two ways. First, we can employ the well-known negation test; in that case negation does not change the mode of existence of the situation described by the *hogy*-clause. E.g. *Nem örülök annak, hogy levizsgáztál* 'I am not glad that you have passed your exam'; *levizsgáztál*

'you have passed your exam' continues to describe a real event. What is more, it is not only the reality of the given event but also other modes of its existence that remain unchanged, e.g. *Örülök/nem örülök annak, hogy le kell vizsgáznod* 'I am/I am not glad that you must pass your exam'; *Örülök/nem örülök annak, hogy a jövő héten vizsgázol* 'I am/I am not glad that you will pass your exam next week'. In case of both the affirmative and negative versions, passing the exam is a necessary, i.e. forthcoming, action.* Secondly, we can also employ the test of paraphrasing the contents of the sentence by way of conjoining. This second type of test gives the same result as the first one: *Örülök, hogy sikerült levizsgáznod* 'I am glad that you have succeeded in passing your exam' → *Sikerült levizsgáznod, és én ennek örülök* 'You have succeeded in passing your exam and I am glad about that'. We can call that type of semantic relation an 'external' one.

The words that can exhibit an 'external' relation with the respective *hogy*-clause constitute a particular set, e.g. the following verbs and nominals: *sajnál valamit* 'be sorry about sg', *mérges valamiért* 'be angry about sg', *megtud valamit* 'get to know sg', *elfelejt valamit* 'forget sg', *küzd valamiért* 'fight for sg', *megakadályoz valamit* 'prevent sg', *fontos* 'important', *furcsa* 'strange', *sértő* 'offensive', *kedvező* 'favourable', *hiba* 'error', *hősiesség* 'heroism', *feladat* 'task', etc. Some of the verbs of talking, as we have already seen, belong to this 'external' relation type: *elbeszél valamit* 'tell about/relate sg' *beszámol valamiről* 'report on sg', *tárgyal valamiről* 'discuss sg', etc. It is to be emphasized that some nouns associated with *hogy*-clauses are also of this type, in that they are connected with the subordinate clause through another noun, e.g. *Feladata az, hogy rendezze az iratokat* 'His task is to file the documents', explicitly: *Feladata az a cselekvés, hogy...* 'His task is the action of filing the documents'; *Hősiesség volt, hogy kimentette a fuldoklót*. It was a[n act of] heroism that he saved the drowning man', explicitly: *Hősiesség volt az a tett, hogy kimentette a fuldoklót* 'His deed of saving the drowning man was an act of heroism', lit. '[The act of] heroism was an act that he saved the drowning man'. Bivalent nouns as *ok* 'cause', *következmény* 'consequence', etc. are also of the 'external' type; e.g. *Könnyelműsége volt az oka annak, hogy megbetegedett* 'His carelessness was the reason of his falling ill'; both arguments more explicitly: *Az a körülmény, hogy könnyelmű, volt az oka annak az eseménynek, hogy megbetegedett* 'The circumstance that he was careless was the reason of the event that he fell ill'. (Cf. further below.)

(2) The other group of 'headwords', on the other hand, has proved to be quite similar to words of talking as regards their relation to *hogy*-clauses.

* The criterion of unchanged mode of existence here employed seems to work well in the present context but is in need of further elaboration.

In the main clause (obviously we mean modified — i.e. explicit — main clauses) we find two 'headwords' again; however, their relation is tautological: a *figura etymologica* or something like that. The two words either refer to the same object (e.g. *Az [az elv] az elve, hogy...* 'His principle is [the principle] that...'), or to an action and its inevitable result (e.g. *Azt [a gondolatot] gondolta, hogy...* 'He thought [the thought] that...'). The two components are not necessarily repetitions of the same word or two derivatives of the same root. An expression like *Az az esemény történt, hogy...* 'The event happened that...' is also tautological. (On the other hand, several occurrences of the same word in a single sentence may not indicate a tautology, such sentences may belong with type (1), e.g. *Erről a mondatról (amely tőlem származik), ő azt [a mondatot] mondta, hogy...* 'Concerning this sentence (told by myself) he said [the sentence] that...') — The relation of words belonging here and subordinate clauses can be defined as follows: the 'headword' or the tautological expression establishes a general framework which is somehow filled with actual (particular) content by the *hogy*-clause. The 'headword' or the tautological expression thus presents two sides of the same thing, its general and particular sides. This relation can be termed 'internal'.

A formal characteristic of the 'internal' semantic relation is that in case of negation the event (mental entity etc.) specified by the *hogy*-clause ceases to exist in the mode given in the affirmative sentence. E.g. *Azt gondolja, hogy az üzenet neki szól* 'He thinks that the message is meant for him' vs. *Nem gondolja azt, hogy az üzenet neki szól* 'He does not think that the message is meant for him', where the latter is equivalent with "The message is meant for him" does not exist as his thought'. (Evidently, "The message is meant for him" may exist as someone else's thought, as a fact, as a statement, etc.) Structures of 'internal' relation do not pass the conjoining test either: e.g. *Azt gondolja, hogy az üzenet neki szól* 'He thinks that the message is meant for him' → **Az üzenet neki szól és ő azt gondolja* 'The message is meant for him and he thinks so'; *Az történt, hogy útközben megbotlott* 'What happened is that he stumbled on the way' → **Útközben megbotlott és az történt* 'He stumbled on the way and that's what happened'.

Differences in the factivity of verbs do not interfere with their characteristics dealt with here. The two points of view intersect. Let us exemplify this by the following table:

	Factive	Non-factive
'External'	<i>Meglepte őt, hogy...</i> 'It surprised him that...'	<i>Meggátolta azt, hogy...</i> 'He prevented that...'
'Internal'	<i>Az [az esemény] történt, hogy...</i> 'The event happened that...'	<i>Azt gondolta, hogy...</i> 'He thought that...'

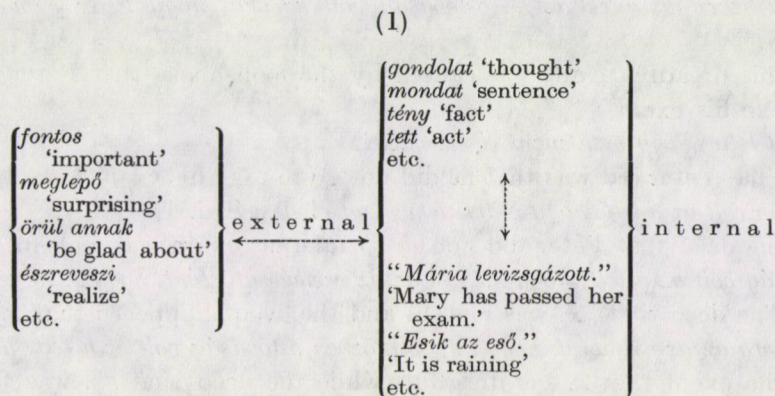
However, we have to add here two remarks pertaining to factivity:

(a) Our approach reveals that a definite distinction is to be drawn between two types of 'non-realistic' (that is, 'non-factive'). 'Non-realistic'¹ is something that is thought, felt, told, etc. 'Non-realistic'² is something that has not taken place yet but is around the corner, is to be expected, is intended or projected etc.

(b) So-called factive predicates can — apparently without any particular constraint — be complemented by nouns denoting a non-realistic entity, e.g. *Fontos az a gondolat, hogy . . .* 'The thought that . . . is important'; *Szórakoztató az a terv, hogy . . .* 'The plan that . . . is amusing'; *Figyelembe veszi azt az érvet, hogy . . .* 'He takes the argument that . . . into consideration'; *Sajnálja azt a kijelentését, hogy . . .* 'He is sorry about his statement that . . .'; etc. This fact indicates that so-called factive predicates are not always factive, only in cases when they are (or can be) complemented by 'facts, real events, true actions' etc. On the other hand, facts *are* involved also in the above sentences, in the sense of 'the fact of a thought, a plan' etc.

Getting back to words standing in an 'internal' relation with their respective clauses, let us enumerate a few of them: *ajánlat* 'offer', *feltevés* 'supposition', *hír* 'news', *kérdés* 'question', *válasz* 'answer', *tanács* 'advice', *vélemény* 'opinion'; *kérdez* 'ask', *válaszol* 'answer', *képzeli* 'imagine', *érez* 'feel', *cselekszik* 'act', etc.

Let us now consider the two schemes below that are meant to represent the two types of sentences exhibiting chain-like correspondences. The first one, shows at the same time, the difference between 'external' and 'internal' relations as well:



E.g. *Meglepő az a mondat, hogy esik az eső.*

'The sentence that it is raining is surprising.'

E.g. *Azt a mondatot mondta, hogy esik az eső.*

'He said the sentence that it was raining.'

A (leírt) mondat az a mondat volt, hogy esik az eső.

7. The distinction between the relations here presented is not unprecedented in the literature (cp. e.g. Apresjan 1967, 113—4; Hadrovics 1969). However, for want of formal criteria, the opposition of these two types of semantic relations and their way of organization in sentences have not been clearly demonstrated. The analysis is greatly hampered (for us as well) by a few linguistic circumstances we have not yet mentioned.

First of all, it is problematic that although the two types of relations sketched here and the two types of structures built on them are attested in their pure form (and are easy to distinguish) in actual sentences occurring in linguistic usage, there is, nevertheless, a rather broad area of transition. We are able to discern sentences belonging here from pure types with the help of our formal devices; yet, the causes underlying their coming into being could not have been satisfactorily revealed this far. We shall mention but the most important transitional phenomena.

There exist a number of pairs of synonymous structures in Hungarian one of which is to be analysed as containing an 'external' relation, while the other as exhibiting an 'internal' one. For instance:

<i>Megkapta az értesítést, hogy ...</i>	<i>Megkapta az értesítést arról [az eseményről],</i>
'He got the information	<i>hogy ...</i>
that ...'	— 'He got the information about [the event]
	that ...'
<i>Az az igénye, hogy ...</i>	<i>Igénye van arra a tevékenységre, hogy ...</i>
'His requirement is that ...'	— 'He requires [the activity] that ...'

To the left, there are structures involving an 'internal' relation and those involving an 'external' relation are to the right.

The structures on the left can also be paired with structures containing the verbal counterparts of their nominal constituents and exhibiting an 'external' relation:

<i>Értesítették őt arról [az eseményről], hogy ...</i>
'He was informed about [the event] that ...'
<i>Igényli azt [a tevékenységet], hogy ...</i>
'He requires [the activity] that ...'; etc.

Not all noun-verb pairs can enter into such pairs of sentences; cp. *Ellenzí azt, hogy a fia elutazzon* 'He objects to his son's departure' — *.*...az az ellenzés, hogy a fia elutazzon* '...the objecting that his son should depart'. It was precisely these unpaired structures that we have been regarding as representing the pure types.

While analysing such pairs of structures, we have encountered an interesting semantico-syntactic phenomenon we shall call 'telescoping'. Let us briefly tackle that phenomenon.

The Hungarian expression *Arról beszélt, hogy . . .* (as well as its Russian equivalent *Он говорил о том, что . . .*) is ambiguous between 'He said that . . .' and 'He was talking about (the fact) that . . .'. E.g.

Arról beszélt, hogy jól érezte magát a Tátrában.

'He said that he had had a very good time in the Tatra.'

Arról beszélt, hogy hogyan érezte magát a Tátrában.

'He was talking about whether he had had a good time in the Tatras.'

In Hungarian the difference between the meanings of *az a hír, hogy . . .* 'the information that . . .' and *a hír arról, hogy . . .* 'the information about (the fact) that . . .', determined by their respective syntactic forms, namely that the first one gives the c o n t e n t or the t e x t of the information while the other describes in its subordinate clause the e v e n t the information tells about, is often obliterated. In some cases the two types referred to are easy to distinguish; e.g. in

Arról, hogy a városban tűz ütött ki, csak egyetlen újság közölt hírt.

'That a fire had broken out in town was reported in one newspaper only.'
the *hogy*-clause clearly describes the event. On the other hand, in

A reggeli lapban olvastam egy hírt arról, hogy a filmgyár statisztákat keres

'In the morning paper I read a note about the film studio looking for extras.;

it is unclear whether the *hogy*-clause tells about the event or the contents of the news and thus *A hír arról, hogy . . .* 'the news about' takes the meaning of *Az a hír, hogy . . .* 'the news that'. We tried to find out how this phenomenon comes about. According to our investigations, this case usually occurs if, with a word of communication, the contents of the announcement can be described in the same words as its object. Thus, we have to start from an explicit sentence as

Olvastam azt a hírt, hogy tűz ütött ki, arról az eseményről, hogy tűz ütött ki.

'I have read a piece of news that a fire has broken out, about the event that a fire has broken out.'

The principle of linguistic economy may explain that only one of the two homologous subordinate clauses built up of exactly the same material is used with the tacit assumption that it can be both the description of the event

and the providing of the contents or text of the news. The syntactic form will then lose its distinctive role. The meaning of *a hír arról, hogy . . .* 'the news about' and *az a hír, hogy . . .* 'the news that' will coalesce. By way of comparison, let us consider another case where some action and the contents of a mental product referring to that action cannot be described by the same *hogy*-clause. Such is the relation of an event to our opinion about it. E.g.

Arról az eseményről, hogy a városban tűz ütött ki, az a véleményem, hogy nem lehet véletlennek tulajdonítani.

'As to the event that a fire broke out in town, my opinion is that it cannot be due to mere chance.'

Obviously, in such cases 'telescoping' of *az a véleményem, hogy . . .* 'my opinion that . . .' and *a véleményem arról, hogy . . .* 'my opinion about (the fact) that . . .' is impossible and the 'explicit' sentence will be employed in actual usage.

The same explanation seems to apply to the origin of such illogical structures as

Nemcsak mondta, hogy eljön, hanem meg is tette.

'Not only had he said that he would come but he did so, too.'

This sentence is illogical since the concepts of 'thing-told' and 'thing-done' do not have a common *genus proximum* that could be used in the explication of its meaning. Neither can we use as an explanatory principle the 'sentence' or the 'act' in itself:

**Nemcsak mondta azt a mondatot, hogy eljön, hanem meg is tette azt a mondatot, hogy eljön.*

'Not only had he said the sentence that he would come but he also did the sentence that he came.'

**Nemcsak mondta azt a tettet, hogy eljön, hanem meg is tette azt a tettet, hogy eljött.*

'Not only had he said the act that he would come but he also did the act that he came.'

Again, the structure can only be accounted for if we think of the fact that some act and the sentence describing it can be referred to by a clause of the same material. The explicite version will then be the following:

Nemcsak mondta azt a mondatot, hogy eljön, hanem meg is tette azt a tettet, hogy eljött.

'Not only had he said the sentence that he would come but he also did the act that he came.'

The initial illogical structure comes into being by a deletion of the "redundant" component of the explicit sentence as well as a 'telescoping' of *az a mondat, hogy* . . . 'the sentence that . . .' and *az a tett, hogy* . . . 'the act that . . .'. For comparison, let us consider a structure where the concepts of the two actions do have a *genus proximum* that can be used in the explication of the sentence:

Nemcsak mondta, hanem egyenesen ordította, hogy eljön.

'He did not just say but actually shouted that he would come.'

This sentence is simply economical but not illogical. Saying and shouting something are both activities of talking (communication), therefore the structure can be explicated in a logical way:

Nemcsak mondta azt a mondatot (közleményt, szöveget etc.), hogy eljön, hanem egyenesen ordította azt a mondatot (közleményt, szöveget stb.), hogy eljön.
'He did not just say the sentence (communication, text, etc.) that he would come but actually he shouted the sentence (communication, text, etc.) that he would come.'

In addition to those mentioned, we have encountered a multitude of more or less serious problems in the course of analysing *hogy*-clauses. However, we shall not discuss them here.

8. Let us get back to our analysis of the main types. As we have seen, the 'kernel structure', the obligatory component of all sentences containing an empty *hogy*, is a structure whose main-clause 'headword' and subordinate clause exhibit an 'internal' relation. The 'headwords' occurring in such relations provide the clue to the use of *hogy*-sentences. What kinds of expressions can further develop them is a secondary question. From the point of view of their meaning, such additional elements presumably depend on the headwords (or, the real-life relations underlying them). With some simplification we can say that, for example, a piece of news can be transmitted, received, etc. but it cannot be, say, cooked; thus **Megfőzte azt a hírt, hogy* . . . 'She cooked the news that . . .'.

The question of what semantic categories of 'headwords' can typically occur in 'internal' relations is to be answered, on empirical grounds, as follows:

- (a) talking, communication (*mondat* 'sentence', *hír* 'news', *mond* 'say', *kérdez* 'ask', *válaszol* 'answer', etc.)
- (b) psychic activity (*gondolat* 'thought', *érzés* 'feeling', *nézet* 'view', *akar* 'want to', *elhatároz* 'decide', *vél* 'opine', etc.)

- (c) action (*cselekvés* 'action', *tett* 'act', *tesz* 'do', etc.)
- (d) happening (*esemény* 'event', *eset* 'case, incident', *történik* 'happen', etc.)
- (e) fact, situation (*tény* 'fact', *helyzet* 'situation', *állapot* 'state', *körül-mény* 'circumstance', etc.)

Now, our task is to explore whether our hypothesis holds true for classes (b)–(e) above; that is, whether referents of the above words are in fact sentence-like.

9. The answer is yes; in what follows we shall try to justify that answer briefly.

(a) This semantic category has been discussed in the early sections of this paper; the referent of words of talking is evidently a sentence (a piece of text). We should add, however, that there are certain words that, apart from 'talking', have another important semantic feature, e.g. refer to some kind of emotional overtone such as *panasz* 'complaint', *szidalom* 'reprimand', etc. What we mean in saying that such words also refer to a sentence (a piece of text) is that complaining, scolding, etc. are activities associated with linguistic expressions, thus their denotata are actually sentences (pieces of texts), with the further specification that their contents, aims, style, etc. are restricted.

(b) It does not call for a detailed justification that in the psychic sphere there is hardly anything whose linguistic expression is other than a sentence; simply because — certain extrem cases apart — in everyday usage there is nothing but sentences. Words, in the lexical sense, are not used on their own. Even one-word utterances are sentences. As far as this goes, then, our hypothesis is immediately verified: references of words of mental activities are closely connected to the concept of 'sentence'. However, in order to corroborate that, we have to solve a couple of further problems.

A *hogy*-clause attached to a 'headword' expressing a mental activity can only reflect mental states that lend themselves to intellectual formalization, that can be realized as (logical) propositions. For instance, a fretful exclamation cannot figure in a *hogy*-clause of this type: **Úgy érezte, hogy ajajajaj!* 'He felt that dammit'; on the other hand, we have *Úgy érezte, hogy baj van* 'He felt that there was some trouble'.

At this point, an important and rather interesting epistemological problem presents itself. Our hypothesis seems to be weakened by the fact that the intellectual representation of a mental activity is not necessarily a (logical) proposition (whose typical linguistic form is a binomial sentence, the type which can appear as a *hogy*-clause); concepts, too, are of fundamental importance. But then the linguistic counterpart of a concept is not a sentence, rather, it is a word or a word-type expression. What is more, not only concepts referring to mental activities, but concepts of objects in the physical world

are also involved here. And we could not claim that references of e.g. *vas* 'iron', *fa* 'wood', *víz* 'water' are also sentences! Such words cannot occur as 'headwords' in *hogy*-sentences. That is why the statement, refuted in the early part of this paper, that words of so-called concrete meaning cannot be used in *hogy*-sentences, is widely claimed. In solving that problem, we can get some help from marxist psychology (or rather epistemology), in particular, from the theory between activity of reflection, of the relation of object and subject. Specifically, we can rely on the view that places propositions (thus, sentences) as the basic units of thinking, in a certain sense, before concepts (thus, words) (cf. e.g. Kopnin 1973; Popovich 1975). In conformity with that theory, we can set up the following theorem. The most typical intellectual manifestation of a mental activity is a (logical) proposition, as the latter is of a directly cognitive character: it asserts the existence of some correlation. In turn, the closest linguistic counterpart of a proposition is a binomial sentence. Thus it is understandable that our conscious mental activities — denotata of the words *érzés* 'feeling', *gondolat* 'thought', *vélemény* 'opinion', etc. — correspond, after all, to sentences on the linguistic plane. It is, at the same time, an empirical fact that the actual content of the above words is eventually expressed in one or several sentence.

However, there still remains the question why all that is not applicable to *all* words referring to a mental activity. In other words, why does it not apply to so-called 'abstract' words of the type exemplified by *jókedv* 'high spirits', *irigység* 'envy', *szeretet* 'love', *megörül valaminek* 'rejoice at sg', etc. Cp. **Betöltötte a szívét az a szeretet, hogy mennyire vonzódik barátaihoz* 'His heart was filled with the love that he was attracted to his friends so much'; **Megörült, hogy jaj, de jó!* 'He rejoiced at (the fact) that it was so good'. The explanation is to be sought, so it seems at least, in the psychical sphere. In particular, we consider the reason of this phenomenon to lie in the following correlation: the richer is the content of a concept, the less need there is for concretization. If I say I love my friends or I envy my friend's organizing ability, such feelings do not need as much concretization as if I only say I feel something. The 'content' of the feelings of love or envy is not usually to be expounded in detail. They can be approximately expressed as follows: 'I feel affection towards X'; 'It is a nasty feeling that I do not possess something that X possesses'. So it is easy to understand why words like that usually form 'external' connections, with a specification of what object the activity concerned is directed towards. E.g. *Irigylem barátom szervezőképességét* 'I envy the organizing ability of my friend' but: **Irigylem, hogy rossz, ha nekem nincs valami...* 'I envy that it is bad not to possess something...' as opposed to *Úgy érzem, hogy rossz, ha nekem nincs valami...* 'I feel that it is bad not to possess something...'.

These examples suggest further that the choice of semantic structure does not depend on the type of mental activity to be described; the same sensation — in the examples above, that of envy — can be rendered both by a semantic structure involving an 'internal' relation and by one involving an 'external' relation, depending on whether the sentence contains *érez* 'feel', or *irigyel* 'envy'.

We have to deal with verbs of perception separately, as they raise specific problems. The main issue is the following: On what basis do we believe that in sentences like *Látom az asztalt* 'I see the table'; *Látom, hogy ott van az asztal* 'I see that the table is there' the reference of the complement of *látom* 'I see' is a sentence? In answering that question, we can once more rely on the theory of the active character of mental mechanisms. It is a generally accepted thesis in psychology today that the working of our senses takes place indirectly through the knowledge, 'theory', experience, aims etc. with which we approach reality, that is, sensory reflection is active reflection as well. Therefore, we can by no means say that the reference of *asztal* 'table' in *Látom az asztalt* 'I see the table' is absolutely independent of the activity of the subject. This is somewhat reflected by the linguistic fact that the simple object of the verb *lát* 'see' is in many cases substitutable by a sentence stating a situation: *Látom, hogy ott van az asztal* 'I see that the table is there', *Látom, hogy ez egy asztal* 'I see that this is a table' etc. But compare *Letörölöm az asztalt* 'I dust the table' → **Letörölöm azt, hogy...* 'I dust that...' In perception we note a fact or a situation. Thus the only question is whether the fact or situation we perceive or note can be correlated with a sentence. This question, as well as the relation between 'object' and 'situation/fact' will be dealt with further below.

Classes (c) to (e) can be dealt with together, since — according to our everyday, primitive notions — their feature in common is that they describe, as it were, pure objective relations (situations, facts, events, actions), as opposed to things the speaker just says, thinks, or feels.

First of all, let us go beyond everyday thinking once more and approach this question from a gnoseologic point of view. If we do that, we come to the conclusion that nature does not include components existing in an absolutely given manner independent of human activity, such as things (as opposed to situations, facts, events, etc.); noticing things and non-things (situations, facts, events, etc.) is a subjective operation, in the gnoseologic sense of 'subjective'. That is true even if mankind has regarded some material forms to be things quite for a long time and in a comparatively steady manner. It is sufficient to think of the fact that a thing can be interpreted as a situation, as the relation of its components or as a process or respective stability. Furthermore, a relation, as Marx repeatedly pointed out, exists in the mind first, as a thought or abstraction, that is, abstraction

from the totality of concrete reality serving as a basis for the mental operation involved (see Marx, 61—3.). Thus we can conclude that things and non-things (situations, facts, events etc.) — in this dichotomy — are not purely natural forms but *s u b j e c t i v e* or *c o g n i t i v e* ones. They differ from each other as subjective (cognitive) forms, in particular, from our point of view, in that non-things are essentially forms structured as propositions (as they exist as thoughts to begin with), while things are forms not structured as propositions. Hence it is understandable that even though the dichotomy 'thing' vs. 'non-thing' is relative in the process of cognition, if something is regarded as a thing it cannot correspond to a sentence just because it is regarded to be a thing. On the other hand, if something is regarded as a non-thing it will correspond to a sentence just on that account. These observations help us understand why we always use a sentence if we want to express a situation, fact, or event, etc. by linguistic means. The entity referred to by the work *ok* 'cause' is sentence-like in the same sense. If a thing is reported to be the cause of some situation, it is undoubtedly a relation, an abstraction from total reality. Thus if in actual usage we name, for example, a physical object as the cause of something, that way of putting it is to be interpreted as a linguistic condensation. E.g. *Egy cigaretta okozta a tűzesetet* 'It was a cigarette that caused the fire' is in fact 'It was the burning of a cigarette, the situation that a burning cigarette was thrown away, etc. that caused the fire'.

The correspondence between denotata of words of types (a) to (e) and sentences is different as to the directness of the correspondence. It is the most immediate in case (a) where a sentence appears as another sentence in the subordinate clause of a *hogy*-sentence. In case (b) we find the correspondence 'mental activity (thought) as sentence', in cases (c) through (3) the correspondence 'fact, situation, action, etc. as thought and thought as sentence'.

In our opinion the interpretation of the 'thing : non-thing' dichotomy as one coming about in the process of cognition, that is, in the relation of object and subject, promotes the understanding and exploration of the objectivity of matter and the dialectics of object and subject. It can also serve as a contribution to refute positivistic philosophical ideas segmenting the world mechanistically into 'pure' object and 'pure' subject.

10. We regard the problems of semantic restrictions of complex sentences containing the conjunction *hogy* 'that' as basically solved by the results and theoretical precepts of the above analysis. However, this solution is by no means a complete one. It does not provide automatic answers to all future questions.

Semantic investigations beginning with as early ones as those by Frege, show that the sentence type containing *hogy* raises gnoseologic questions of

linguistic reflection most vividly. We hope that we have succeeded in corroborating that connection and in pointing out that the Marxian theory of the dialectics of object and subject provides fundamental help in solving that problem as well as in understanding actual linguistic phenomena. At the same time, we hope to have thrown some light on the fact that in investigating syntactic and semantic structures of language, moreover in investigating the results of earlier investigations, we cannot fail to take everyday thinking into consideration. We have to rely on general philosophical and specialized (linguistic) evidence at the same time and also reckon with modes and forms by which everyday human attitude, everyday thinking concerns reality.

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VERSUCH EINES UMRISSES WISSENSCHAFTSHISTORISCHER PRINZIPIEN*

Von

F. KOVÁCS

1. Die Bedeutung der Wissenschaftsgeschichte

Ein Volk, das seine Geschichte nicht schätzt, vermag auch seine Gegenwart nicht richtig einzuschätzen. Wird diese bekannte geschichts- und gesellschaftswissenschaftliche These bei der Wertbestimmung der Wissenschaftsgeschichte angewendet, so kann die Stellung bzw. die Bedeutung der Wissenschaftsgeschichte innerhalb der gegebenen Disziplin leicht abgefaßt werden: Sie ist ein wesentliches Element der Theorie der gegebenen Disziplin,¹ der eindeutige Index ihres Reifegrades.² Wenngleich auch eine gewisse Übertreibung, Einseitigkeit in der Byronschen These enthalten ist, laut der die Vergangenheit der beste Prophet der Zukunft sei, zeugt sie doch dafür, daß die Theorie einer Wissenschaft ohne die exakte Darstellung ihres Werdeganges, ohne die Schätzung der Werte der historischen Vergangenheit, ohne die Bestimmung der Stelle und Rolle der einzelnen theoretischen Richtungen lückenhaft und einseitig bleibt. Es läßt sich auch mit Recht annehmen, daß die Berücksichtigung der Ergebnisse früherer Richtungen sowie die kritische Bearbeitung ihrer Lehren auch der zu erwartenden Haupttendenz der wissenschaftlichen Entwicklung, ohne ein größeres Fehlerprozent zu umreißen, helfen (heuristische Art).

Die ziemlich große Anzahl von Büchern und Abhandlungen sowie eine Reihe von Anthologien, die alle dieser neuen Disziplin gewidmet sind, weisen auf die Erkenntnis der Bedeutung dieser auf eine Vergangenheit von kaum anderthalb Jahrzehnten zurückblickenden Disziplin hin.

* Die Thesen dieses Aufsatzes wurden in der Plenarsitzung 6 (Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft — Ziele und Methoden) des XII. Internationalen Linguistenkongresses (Wien, 29. 8. — 2.9.1977) vorgelegt.

¹ V. A. Zvegincev, *Crucial Problems in the History of Linguistics* (Beitrag am XII. Internationalen Linguistenkongreß Manuskript.) Vgl. Parret: »The history of linguistic thought in general is not only a valuable venture *per se*, but also inspires the problems and methodology of contemporary research in linguistics as well as in the philosophy of language.« (H. Parret, *History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*. Berlin — New York 1976. S. V.) — Simone: »L'histoire des sciences . . . est une épistémologie interne aux sciences.« (R. Simone, *Théorie et histoire de la linguistique*. In: *Historiographia Linguistica* 2 [1975] 354.) Es ist also keine zufällige Erscheinung, daß »die Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft das vielfältige Repertoire der möglichen Lösung« ist. (a. a. O. 371).

² R. H. Robins, *The History of Linguistics: Aims and Methods* In: Kurzfassungen der Referate des XII. Internationalen Linguistenkongresses. Wien 1977, 26.

Da die Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft eine ganz neue Disziplin ist, sind die Publikationen über die Ergebnisse der auf diesem Gebiet wirkenden Forscher ziemlich bunt, ja sie stehen miteinander manchmal sogar im Gegensatz. Die Verschiedenheit der Annäherungsweisen stellt nicht bloß ein wissenschaftshistorisches Abbild jener Tatsache dar, daß die Vergangenheit — aber auch die Gegenwart — der Sprachwissenschaft ziemlich mannigfaltig ist, sondern sie legt zugleich auch nahe, daß sich noch kein verhältnismäßig einheitlicher Gesichtspunkt und keine solche Forschungsmethode der Wissenschaftsgeschichte entfaltet haben.

Es drängt also immer mehr auf das Ordnen der Reihen, zur Ausgestaltung der erwünschten Einheitlichkeit durch den Austausch der Meinungen, nach einem Einvernehmen in den wichtigsten grundsätzlich-theoretischen Fragen. Nicht zufälligerweise wurde auf die Tagesordnung einer Plenarsitzung des XII. Internationalen Linguistenkongresses folgendes gesetzt: »Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft — Ziele und Methoden.«³

Zur Verwirklichung des gesetzten Zieles möchte ich mit meiner bescheidenen Abhandlung beitragen.

2. Gegenstand der Disziplin; Ziele, Aspekte und Methoden der Forschung

Wie alle Wissenschaften, muß auch jene Disziplin, die sich mit der Theoriegeschichte befaßt, ihren Gegenstand, ihre Zielsetzungen, die Aspekte und die Methodik der Forschung eindeutig festsetzen. Gegenstand der Wissenschaftsgeschichte ist die gegebene Wissenschaft selbst. In diesem Sinne gilt die Theorie der Wissenschaftsgeschichte als die Theorie einer Theorie, also Metatheorie. Da der Gegenstand der Forschung, die Theorie der Sprachwissenschaft selbst, an sich kompliziert und ein verzweigtes Netz von Annäherungsweisen ist, stellt auch die Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft ein sehr kompliziertes Forschungsgebiet dar.

Bei der Formulierung des Forschungsgegenstandes sind vor allem die Grenzen festzusetzen. Dies bedeutet eine zweifache Aufgabe:

- a) es müssen der chronologische Rahmen und die Periodisierungsphasen abgesteckt werden,
- b) andererseits sind die Stellung und die Rolle der Sprachwissenschaft innerhalb des allgemeinen menschlichen Erkenntnisprozesses wie auch ihr Verhältnis zu den Nachbardisziplinen zu bestimmen (Autonomie, interdisziplinären Charakters).

2.1. Die chronologischen Grenzen. Das Abstecken der chronologischen Grenzen scheint — auf den ersten Anhieb — eine außerordentlich einfache

³ Kurzfassungen des XII. Internationalen Linguisten-Kongresses. Wien 1977.

Aufgabe zu sein: die wissenschaftshistorische Forschung hat räumlich und zeitlich so weit zurückzugreifen, wo und wann die gegebene Wissenschaft erschienen ist. Diese triviale Feststellung läßt sich in die Sprache der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft übersetzt so formulieren: Der Ansatz der Sprachwissenschaft ist dort und zu jener Zeit zu suchen, wo und wann die Sprache zum Gegenstand wissenschaftlicher Forschung wurde. In dieser Frage sind die Meinungen im allgemeinen einig. Doch in der Beurteilung dessen, wer, wo und in welcher Zeit den Anfang der wissenschaftlichen Forschung der Sprache ansetzt, gehen die Meinungen schon stark auseinander. Recht viele Forscher bezeichnen als Termin der Entstehung einer wissenschaftlichen Linguistik die Zeit der Entfaltung der historisch-vergleichenden Methode im angehenden 19. Jahrhundert. Die vorausgehende Epoche wird summarisch als »vorwissenschaftliche (,pre-scientific') Epoche« der Linguistik bezeichnet.

Dieses Periodisierungsprinzip vernachlässigt die Bemühungen und Erfolge des klassischen Altertums auf dem Gebiet der Linguistik vollkommen, um von den Teilergebnissen, die auf die altindischen und arabischen Zeiten zurückzuführen sind, gar nicht zu reden. (Die Ergebnisse der chinesischen und japanischen Linguistik ziehen wir hier nicht in Betracht, da sich diese nicht in die Strömung der europäischen linguistischen Forschungen legierten, und auch umgekehrt: die Ergebnisse, die auf dem europäischen Kontinent entstanden waren, von ihnen nicht übernommen wurden.)

Diejenigen aber, die auch die dem 19. Jh. vorausgehenden linguistischen Ergebnisse in Anschlag bringen und bewerten, greifen im allgemeinen auf die Linguistik des klassischen Griechentums, des hellenischen Zeitalters (Platon, Aristoteles, die alexandrinische Schule) zurück. Das klassische Rom wird gewöhnlich nicht gesondert in Betracht gezogen, da es ja im Vergleich zu den Resultaten der Griechen nichts wesentlich Neues erbracht hat.

Diese Auffassung ist den früheren Ergebnissen gegenüber schon toleranter, zugleich negligiert sie aber die linguistischen Bemühungen und Erfolge des klassischen Indiens und der arabischen Welt.

Die geschilderte widersprüchliche Beurteilung der chronologischen Grenzen der Forschung ist auf die Unterschiede in der Abfassung der Beschaffenheit und der Hauptzüge der Sprachwissenschaft zurückzuführen. Wer nämlich an die Wissenschaftlichkeit früherer Zeiten dieselben Anforderungen stellt, die wir heute der Wissenschaft unserer Gegenwart mit Recht stellen können und auch stellen müssen, der zieht — verständlicherweise — die Grenzen der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft viel zu eng.

Ein weiteres Störungsmoment ist auch die Tatsache, daß die wissenschaftlichen Bemühungen der früheren Zeiten mit Standpunkten von verschiedenen philosophischen, theologischen u.a. Veranlassungen durchwoben waren, durch die die Forscher auch gehindert werden, den wahren Wert der wissenschaftlichen Teilerfolge zu erkennen. Es geht hier um allbekannte Sachen, deren

ausführliche Darlegung überflüssig ist, weshalb ich auf sie nur als bloße Aufzählung hinweise: die philosophische, theologische Etappe der Anfangsperiode der altindischen und arabischen Linguistik, die den Sprachpflegern das Erzielen des je leichteren Verständnisses der heiligen Bücher und die Erarbeitung der hinzuführenden Modalitäten zur Aufgabe setzte; im klassischen Griechentum ist die Linguistik mit der Marke und dem Charakter der »ancilla philosophiae« belastet; die Vorherrschaft der philologischen Eigenart, usw.

Es sind das alles historische Tatsachen. Doch ebenfalls als eine historische Tatsache in wenigstens gleichem Maße müssen wir auch das zur Kenntnis nehmen, daß z.B. die altindische philosophisch-theologische Etappe auch solche Teilentdeckungen produzierte, die sich heute in den Rahmen der gegenwärtigen semantischen und syntaktischen Forschungen eingliedern lassen. Die prosodischen Ansprüche des richtigen Lesens des Korans ergaben auch Teilfeststellungen, die einschlägig in den Kreis der modernen phonetischen Forschungen einzubeziehen sind. Die grammatischen Kategorien des klassischen Griechentums haben für lange Jahrhunderte die wesentlichen Züge des linguistischen Denkens bestimmt. Eine der »septem artes liberales« des Mittelalters war die »ars loquendi et scribendi« (das Trivium), die gleichfalls auch Erfolge aufwies, die im Bereich der in modernem Sinne aufgefaßten akustischen phonetischen Forschungen einschlagen. Weiterhin muß noch als theoriegeschichtliche Tatsache angenommen werden, daß die linguistischen Annäherungen der vom 15. Jh. an datierten spekulativen Philosophie (philosophia speculativa) als theoretische Vorläufer der Oxfordener analytischen philosophischen Schule unseres Jahrhunderts betrachtet werden können.

Extraponieren wir unsere heutigen theoretischen Ansprüche nicht in um Jahrhunderte, ja sogar Jahrtausende frühere Epochen, sondern betrachten die Entwicklung der Wissenschaft — samt ihren Widersprüchen, Umwegen, Versagen neben ihren Erfolgen — als einen organischen, unteilbaren Prozeß, so können wir auf das Studium jener frühen genialen Intuitionen, dieser auch heute schätzenswerten Teilerfolge nicht verzichten. (Auf die argumentative Untermauerung dieser Auffassung komme ich in einem weiteren Zusammenhang später zurück.)

2.2. Die Differenzierung der Wissenschaften. Mehr oder weniger gehört zu den wissenschaftshistorischen Trivialitäten jene alte Feststellung, daß die Geschichte der einzelnen Disziplinen das Abbild ihres Kampfes um Selbständigkeit ist. Zumindest wird die Entwicklung der europäischen Wissenschaften von den Anfängen ihres Ausbruchs aus dem klassischen philosophischen Rahmen, ihrer Loslösung von den allgemeinen Welterklärungsansprüchen »der Wissenschaft aller Wissenschaften« gerechnet.

Die Erscheinung der Fachdisziplinen ist wahrhaft ein Wendepunkt in der Entwicklung der Wissenschaften. Die einschlägigen Bestrebungen führten in

den Gesellschaftswissenschaften, noch mehr aber in den Naturwissenschaften zu eindrucksvollen Teilergebnissen. Die eindeutige Bestimmung des Forschungsobjekts, die strenge Festlegung der Methodik sind die Folgen anerkennungswürdiger Absichten, zwangsläufige Attribute einer Unternehmung zur Lösung solcher Aufgaben, die die Philosophie mit ihren Zielsetzungen, ihren auslegenden Prinzipien und Methoden nicht mehr bewältigen konnte. Doch die Hauptfürsprecher des Kampfes um Selbständigkeit der Fachdisziplinen sahen sich auf Schritt und Tritt der Lösung von Aufgaben gegenübergestellt, die sie mit den »rein« fachwissenschaftlichen Methoden nicht haben lösen können. Die Astronomie, die Physik, die Chemie — die Abstraktion ihrer Resultate auf einer höheren Stufe — haben z.B. den mathematischen Apparat nie entbehren können. Bei der Erfassung der Essenz der biologischen Erscheinungen stieß man oft auf Aufgaben physischen, chemischen Charakters, usw.

2.3. Die »Selbständigkeit« der Sprachwissenschaft. Die Merkmale der Linguistik als einer sich emanzipierenden Fachdisziplin können auch ähnlicherweise dargestellt werden: Die in der zweiten Dekade des 19. Jahrhunderts entstandene und in kurzer Zeit sehr anerkennungswerte Resultate erbringende komparative Schule (Bopp) legierte sich aufs engste mit der von Grimm erarbeiteten historischen Methodologie und erschuf die *historisch-vergleichende Methode*. Der prinzipielle Ausgangspunkt dieser Schule ist unleugbar historisch, ihr auslegendes Prinzip wird also durch den historischen Gesichtspunkt »verunreinigt«, ihr Forschungsverfahren weist gleichfalls eine unleugbare Verwandtschaft zu den historischen Methoden auf. Dasselbe kann auch von der von K. F. Becker verbürgten und auf den Rationalismus der Grammatiker von Port Royal zurückführbaren linguistischen Richtung, dem *linguistischen Logizismus*, festgestellt werden: Diese Schule bedurfte in ihren Spracherläuterungsversuchen der Bevormundung der Logik. Die als wissenschaftliches Ergebnis von Steinthal, Paul und Wundt entstandene Schule wird von der Theoriegeschichte bekannterweise als *linguistischer Psychologismus* bezeichnet.

Einer besonderen Erwähnung wert sind die Motive der Entstehung der sogenannten *naturwissenschaftlichen Schule*, die Bestimmung der sprachwissenschaftlichen Stellung dieser ephemeren linguistischen Richtung und ihre Rolle in der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft. Die theoriegeschichtlichen Ausführungen verpönen im allgemeinen eindeutig diese Richtung: Sie betrachten diese als eine vulgäre Simplifikation, eine unangebrachte Anwendung naturwissenschaftlicher Prinzipien und Methoden in den linguistischen Forschungen.

Doch eine eingehendere Überprüfung der Beweggründe sowie der von naturwissenschaftlichen Methoden inspirierten Forschungen, aber auch ihrer wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse lassen diese Richtung, die sog. *naturwis-*

sen schaftliche Linguistik, in einem ganz anderen Licht erscheinen. Wie allbekannt, übten die großartigen Ergebnisse der Naturwissenschaft der Neuzeit eine enorme Wirkung auf die ganze wissenschaftliche Denkweise des Zeitalters aus. Die grundlegendste Wirkung kann darin formuliert werden, daß die Eindeutigkeit des naturwissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunktes, die Exaktheit der Forschungsmethoden alle fortschrittlichen Gelehrten des Zeitalters bannten, und auch die Forscher, die sich nicht mit Naturwissenschaften befaßten, konnten — oder vielleicht gar wollten — diese überwältigende Wirkung nicht loswerden.

Gesichtspunkt und Methode dieser Art spornten auch die Sprachwissenschaftler der Zeit dazu an, nach übereinstimmenden oder wenigstens ähnlichen Zügen der Sprache und »anderer Naturprodukte« zu forschen. Diese naturwissenschaftlich angeregten Bemühungen erbrachten recht bald äußerst wichtige sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse: Auch der Sprachgelehrte entdeckte einen sehr wesentlichen Charakterzug seines Forschungsmaterials, die vom Willen der einzelnen Menschen unabhängige Existenz der Sprache, die wir in der Sprache unserer heutigen Terminologie üblicherweise objektiven Charakter nennen. Diese Feststellung von prinzipieller Bedeutung, das konsequente Durchdenken der hinter dieser Feststellung steckenden Teilfragen regten — verständlicherweise — den Begründer dieser Schule, A. Schleicher, und seine Anhänger zu weitgehenden Folgerungen an: die Sprache sei ein ebensolches Naturprodukt, ebensolcher Organismus wie alle anderen Organismen der Natur. Entwickeln sich die Organismen der Natur nicht vom blinden Zufall geleitet, sondern auf Grund gar strenger Gesetzmäßigkeiten (Naturgesetze), so gehe auch die Entwicklung der Sprache nicht von der Willkür der einzelnen Menschen beeinflußt, sondern auf Grund ebenso strenger Gesetzmäßigkeiten vor sich, wie dies im Falle der Naturprodukte festzustellen war.

Auf die Gestaltung der linguistischen Arbeiten hatte die Auffassung des großen Genies des Jahrhunderts, W. von Humboldt, über die Naturprozesse und -bildungen eine sehr große Wirkung. Danach hieß es: »Will man hier die Bildungen der schaffenden Natur nachspähen, so muß man ihr nicht Ideen unterschreiben, sondern sie nehmen, wie sie sich zeigt.«⁴

Keine zufällige Erscheinung ist also die keine Ausnahmen kennende, den Willen der einzelnen Menschen nicht beachtende Strenge des junggrammatischen Lautgesetz-Postulats, sondern das Resultat des konsequenten Durchdenkens der Anschauung: Sprache = Naturorganismus, Sprachgesetze und Naturgesetze decken sich. Auch das sagt viel aus, daß das schon erwähnte Lautgesetz, eines der fundamentalen Elemente der Sprachwissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts, auf das von Humboldt abgefaßte *phon-*

⁴ H. Steinthal, Die sprachphilosophischen Werke Wilhelms von Humboldt. Berlin 1884. 191.

tische Gesetz zurückgeführt werden kann. Diese Gesetzkonzeption gibt keinerlei mystischer — der Natur der Sprache fremder — Vorstellung, individueller Tätigkeit, oberflächlich festgestellten superfiziellen Regelmäßigkeiten der Sprache mehr statt. Hier besteht die Aufgabe schon in der Erfassung der tief unter der Oberfläche liegenden Essenz, in der Erschließung der in den Erscheinungen und Prozessen vorhanden inneren, essentiellen, zwangsläufigen Zusammenhänge, Gesetze von ständigem und sich wiederholendem Charakter.

Das Lautgesetz-Postulat stand vom ersten Viertel an bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Seine Anhänger sahen in ihm die feste Basis der etymologischen Forschungen, seine Gegner aber hielten es — eben wegen der simplifizierten naturwissenschaftlichen Adaptation — in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung für unanwendbar. Die darüber geführte Polemik ist sehr aufschlußreich. Seine Verfechter plädierten für den exakten Charakter der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, die Erschließung der inneren Zusammenhänge, die kausale Determiniertheit der Dinge und Prozesse, mit einem für all das, was wir im Lichte unseres heutigen Wissens für die grundlegenden Forderungen der wissenschaftlichen Forschung halten.

Heute sehen wir schon klar die Einseitigkeit dieses Determinismus, die Mängel des junggrammatischen Lautgesetz-Postulats — samt seiner Einseitigkeit, seinen Mängeln —, das der historischen Sprachwissenschaft des Zeitalters einen mächtigen Anstoß zur Entwicklung gegeben hat.

Die folgende Station des für die Autonomie der Sprachwissenschaft ausgetragenen Kampfes knüpft sich an die Entfaltung der Sprachtheorie Saussures und seiner Anhänger. Die Auffassung der Sprache als Zeichen und dieser Zeichen als System brachte in der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft eine derartige Wendung, die wichtigsten Züge dieser Sprachauffassung auch in der Sprachwissenschaft unserer Zeit zu erkennen. Ist die Sprache — ihre Essenz betreffend — ein auf der gegenseitigen Voraussetzung von Zeichen und zeichenartigen Verbindungen beruhendes System, so kann die Selbständigkeit der Sprachwissenschaft durch nichts mehr gefährdet werden — meinten die Saussurianer —, da von jener Wissenschaft, die sich mit der allgemeinen Forschung der Zeichen befaßt (Semiotik, Semiotik) nur noch die allgemeinsten Abrisse abzeichneten, und auch übrigens den vornehmsten Platz in dieser Wissenschaft die Untersuchung des sprachlichen Zeichens einnehmen werde.

Vielleicht ist es nicht überflüssig, auch an dieser Stelle an jene, in der Theoriegeschichte nicht häufig erwähnte Tatsache zu erinnern, daß das grundlegende Motiv der Auffassung der Sprache als Zeichensystem wiederum von der naturwissenschaftlichen Denkweise geliefert wurde. Bezeugen schon einmal die naturwissenschaftlichen Erfolge, daß die Welt nicht ein ungeordnetes

Konglomerat von Einzelheiten, sondern ein gut organisiertes Ganzes, d.h. ein auf der gegenseitigen Voraussetzung der Komponenten beruhendes System ist, so wird diese Auffassung den konsequent denkenden Forscher wohl auch in anderen Wissenschaftsbereichen zwangsläufig zum Gedanken des Systems, zur Postulierung der Systemhaftigkeit und dann zur Demonstration des systemmäßigen Aufbaus, der Strukturiertheit des untersuchten Materials führen.

Der grundlegende, seine Anschauung und die Richtung seiner Forschungsarbeit bestimmende Gedanke des Sprachwissenschaftlers dieses Jahrhunderts ist also wie folgt: Will er einmal die Teilkenntnisse über die Sprache auswerten, den Platz und die Rolle der Teile bestimmen, ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis feststellen, d.h. erstrebt er auch in der Erforschung der Sprache die Kenntnis der Essenz, so muß er von der systemmäßigen Auffassung der Sprache ausgehen, deren innere Anordnung, die Gesetzmäßigkeiten der gegenseitigen Voraussetzung der Elemente erschließen. Der neue Abschnitt der Sprachwissenschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts ist also die strukturelle Linguistik, und wenden wir diese linguistische Richtung im weitesten Sinne derart an, daß wir sie von Saussure an bis Chomsky — trotz der bestehenden und nicht zu vernachlässigenden Unterschiede — als eine allgemeine Charakteristik der modernen linguistischen Richtungen auffassen, so kann die progressive Sprachwissenschaft der Welt heute mit diesem Attribut bezeichnet werden.

Es ist also nicht verwunderlich, daß die großen Sprachtheoretiker des Jahrhunderts zur Ausgestaltung der Sprachwissenschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts, des Gedankens der naturwissenschaftlich konzipierten Systemmäßigkeit fast ausnahmslos auf die Inspiration der naturwissenschaftlichen Denkweise hin gelangt sind.

Eine der definitiven theoretischen Stärken des Phonetikers Sievers war seine naturwissenschaftliche Denkweise. Einer seiner Würdiger zeichnete es auf, daß die Lautanalysen für Sievers als exakte naturwissenschaftliche Beobachtungen galten.⁵

Baudouin de Courtenay äußerte sich sehr anerkennend über die Hilfe, die die Mathematik der Sprachwissenschaft leisten kann.⁶ In Saussures Familie gab es mehrere namhafte Naturwissenschaftler. Der in der Familie herrschende »naturwissenschaftliche Geist« übte auch auf den Linguisten Saussure einen tiefen Einfluß aus.⁷

Bühler erwähnt in Zusammenhang mit der Ausgestaltung der Systemauffassung von Trubetzkoy, daß dessen Sprachtheorie dem Chemiker-Landsmann

⁵ T. Frings, Eduard Sievers. In: T. Sebeok, Portraits of Linguists. A Biographical Source Book for the History of Western Linguistics 1946–1963. I. 1966, 49.

⁶ M. Ivic, Trends in Linguistics. London — The Hague — Paris 1965, 213.

⁷ T. Sebeok: a.a.O., II, 101.

Mendeleejev (das periodische System der Elemente!) viel zu verdanken hat.⁸ Aus dem dem »Linguisten-Jakobiner« Jespersen gewidmeten Nekrolog erfahren wir, daß er Darwins Lehren eingehend studiert hatte, die für ihn deziniv wurden.⁹ An Brøndals ganzes Wirken läßt sich verspüren, daß er die Relativitätstheorie ausführlich und überhaupt auch Physik und Mathematik studierte.¹⁰ Die Grundqualifikation des Begründers der amerikanischen »Anthropologie-Linguistik«, Boas, war Physik und Geographie, und des öfteren betonte er selbst scherzhaft, daß er als Autodidakt auf das Gebiet jener Wissenschaften geriet, »die sich mit mentalen Erscheinungen«, hauptsächlich mit Linguistik, befassen.¹¹ Die Sprachbetrachtung von Bloomfield, dem Begründer der sich im zweiten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts entfaltenden amerikanischen deskriptiven Linguistik, wurde grundlegend von der physiologisch konzipierten behavioristischen Psychologie beeinflusst, auf deren Begründer, Watson, das 1923 erschienene programmgebende Werk über den Pavlovschen bedingten Reflex einen sehr großen Einfluß ausübte.¹² Aber auch Bloomfield selbst äußerte sich anerkennend über den Einfluß, den die Pavlovsche Lehre auf ihn ausübte.¹³

All diese Tatsachen zeugen eindeutig von der befruchtenden Wirkung des naturwissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunktes und solcher Forschungsmethoden, deren sprachwissenschaftliche Adaptation dem Linguisten eine mächtige Waffe in die Hand gab — wie das auch Bloomfield in seiner 1930 erschienenen programmgebenden Abhandlung »Linguistics as a Science« festgestellt hat.¹⁴ In dieser Grundstellung wurde später auch jene Bloomfieldsche heuristische These formuliert, die aussagt: »Alle wissenschaftlichen Feststellungen sollen mit naturwissenschaftlichen Termini gemacht werden.«¹⁵

Gar deutlich sehen wir die theoretische Einseitigkeit des Begründers der amerikanischen deskriptiven Linguistik, den von dem vulgären Materialismus inspirierten Physikalismus, der die Existenz von mentalen linguistischen Faktoren aller Art schroff negierte. Doch unbestreitbar ist dabei sein Verdienst, das Feuer gegen jegliche spekulativ-mystischen Auffassungen um die Sprache gerichtet zu haben, und auf »die monistische Auffassung der Dinge« (the monistic view of things) drängend, lenkte er in der Alternative »Sprache oder Ideen?«¹⁶

⁸ Op. cit. 539—40.

⁹ A. a. O., 162.

¹⁰ M. Ivic, A. a. O., 174.

¹¹ T. Sebeok, A. a. O., 128.

¹² J. B. Watson, Behaviorism. New York 1924.

¹³ L. Bloomfield, Language or Ideas? In: Language 11 [1936] 92.

¹⁴ L. Bloomfield, Linguistics as a Science. In: Studies in Philology 27 [1930] 553.

¹⁵ »Every scientific statement is made in physical terms«. — L. Bloomfield, Language or Ideas? Language 11 [1936] 92; F. Kovács, Tudománytörténet, voluntarizmus [Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Voluntarismus]. In: Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 74 [1972] 359. Formuliert auch Simone nicht mit einer solchen apodiktischen Eindeutigkeit, so betont auch er jedoch die spürbare Wirkung der Systemkategorie der exakten Wissenschaften (Naturwissenschaften) in der Herausbildung des Gedankens der sprachwissenschaftlichen Systemhaftigkeit. R. Simone, a.a.O., 368.

¹⁶ L. Bloomfield, Language or Ideas? In: Language 11 [1936] 2.

die Aufmerksamkeit der Linguisten auf die Untersuchung der objektiven Sprache.¹⁷

Auch die Adaptation des naturwissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunktes und der Methode im 20. Jahrhundert bot der Sprachwissenschaft ein fruchtbares Modell, dessen fundamentale These die Bemühung um die Ausarbeitung der exakten Methoden ist.

3. Die Entwicklung des »Sprachgedankens« als integrierender Bestandteil des allgemeinen menschlichen Erkenntnisprozesses

Die dargestellte Widersprüchlichkeit der Entwicklung des Sprachgedankens — des Systems der wissenschaftlichen Anschauungen über die wichtigsten Charakterzüge der Sprache —, der Kampf um Selbständigkeit und die nuancierte oder mechanische Anwendung der Gesichtspunkte und Forschungsmethoden anderer Wissenschaften werfen die folgenden sehr wichtigen allgemeinen methodologischen Fragen auf: Womit sind die geschilderten sprachwissenschaftlichen Richtungen zu erklären? Was hat ihre Erscheinung, Verbreitung, Wirkung, dann wieder die Zusammenschrumpfung ihrer Wirkungssphäre und schließlich ihre Ablösung durch andere Richtungen zur Folge? Ob die einander ablösenden Richtungen auf Grund historischer Notwendigkeit oder eines zufälligen chronologischen Nacheinanders, voneinander ganz unabhängig zustandekamen, oder ob irgendeine integrierende Beziehung zwischen ihnen besteht? Mit anderen Worten: Können — oder sollte — die Entwicklung des Sprachgedankens in irgendein breiteres Kohärenzsystem eingebettet werden? Kurzum: Welche Stellung und Rolle hat die Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft im Prozeß der allgemeinen menschlichen Erkenntnis inne? Gibt es irgendeine allgemeine prinzipiell-theoretische Grundlage, die es ermöglicht, die Entstehung der einzelnen Etappen in der Entwicklung der Sprachtheorie, deren Rolle und Bedeutung in der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft sowie ihre Beziehungen zu den vorausgegangenen und den nachfolgenden Richtungen zu erklären? Ob es eine unüberbrückbare Kluft zwischen den synchronen und den diachronen Bewegungsformen der Sprache gibt, oder aber, ob die beiden integrierend miteinander zusammenhängen? Welcher sprachwissenschaftliche Status kommt der sog. »externen« Linguistik zu, und ob sie irgendeinen Konnex mit der sog. »reinen« Sprachwissenschaft hat?

Meiner Meinung nach können Anhaltspunkte gefunden werden, die diese fundamentalen Fragen der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft beantworten helfen. Ich meine, wir können die wesentlichen Züge der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft bzw. der einzelnen Epochen dieser Entwicklung dann am

¹⁷ Simones Standpunkt, Anm. 14.

erfolgreichsten umreißen, wenn wir diesen Entwicklungsprozeß in den Rahmen der allgemeinen menschlichen Erkenntnis eingebettet untersuchen, bei der Absteckung der Stelle und Rolle der Richtungen die allgemeinsten Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Theorie der allgemeinen menschlichen Erkenntnis (Gnoseologie, Epistemologie) stets vor Augen halten.¹⁸

3.1. Erkenntnistheoretische Prinzipien. Die materialistisch angeregte Erkenntnistheorie (Gnoseologie) geht von der materiellen Einheit der Welt aus. Diese prinzipielle Ausgangsbasis berechtigt zugleich die Vertreter der verschiedenen Wissenschaften, für die Erkennbarkeit der Welt Stellung zu nehmen. Die methodologische Grundlage aller erworbenen und zu erwerbenden adäquaten Kenntnisse über die Welt und ihre verschiedensten Sphären ist die materialistische Widerspiegelungstheorie: Das System der Kenntnisse über Erscheinungen und Prozesse besteht aus den relativ treuen Widerspiegelungen der — in philosophischem Sinne genommenen — Bewegungsordnung der einzelnen Sphären der Wirklichkeit.¹⁹

Da die materielle Welt unendlich ist, ist auch die Erkennung und Erschließung ihrer Gesetzmäßigkeiten ein unendlicher Prozeß. Diese Hypothese ist gleich auch die Stellungnahme dafür, daß die menschliche (gesellschaftliche) Erkenntnis, das von den verschiedenen Wissenschaften erschlossene System der Wahrheiten die Aufmerksamkeit auf immer neuere und weitere zu lösende Aufgaben lenkt. So führt der Weg der menschlichen Erkenntnis vom Einfacheren zum Komplizierteren und noch Komplizierteren, ohne naiverweise einen solchen Endzustand vorauszusetzen, wo der Mensch (die Gesellschaft) alle Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Welt erschlossen haben und, in den Besitz der »absoluten Wahrheit« gelangt sein dürfte. Das sind eben die positiven, optimistischen Charakterzüge dieser Erkenntnistheorie, da sie die Vertreter aller Wissenschaften zum ununterbrochenen Fortschritt, zur Erschließung weiterer Gesetzmäßigkeiten anspornen.

Wie das aus den geschilderten Charakterzügen der allgemeinen menschlichen Erkenntnis folgt, ist die Entwicklung einer jeden Fachwissenschaft ein integrierender Prozeß. Aus der dynamisch-dialektischen Beschaffenheit dieses Erkenntnisprozesses von gesellschaftlichem Ausmaß ergibt sich zwangsläufig, daß die Ablösung von mit dem Anspruch auf

¹⁸ Vgl. Simone: a.a.O., 354, Anm. 1.

¹⁹ »Adäquat« bedeutet also in diesem Kontext: relativ treu. »Relativ treu« bedeutet u. a. auch folgendes: Diese Theorie anerkennt — ja postuliert gerade — die relativ selbständige Bewegungsmöglichkeit der Zeichen der von den Erscheinungen und Prozessen der Wirklichkeit ausgestalteten Begriffe, daß sich diese zu solchen »absurden« neuen Begriffen legieren können, denen der Tatsachenhintergrund fehlt. Auf dieser Grundlage können derartige »semantische Anomalien« wie *Pegasus*, *Teufel*, *Kentaur* usw. leicht erklärt werden, aber auch die sprachlichen Manifestationen der höchsten Abstraktionsoperation wie *Begriff*, *Gedanke*, *Theorie* usw. (Vgl. *capio concipio*, *conceptus*, *conceptio*; begreifen Begriff; fassen Auffassung usw.).

Wissenschaftlichkeit erstellten Anschauungen und Theorien durch andere neue, keine zufallartige historische Nacheinanderfolge ist, sondern eine solche — in philosophischem Sinn aufgefaßte — *N e g a t i o n* des Alten, wobei das System der neuen wissenschaftlichen Anschauungen und Theorien, indem es das alte ablöst, dessen wissenschaftliche Elemente von bleibendem Wert integrierend in sich legiert und nutzt. Die neue wissenschaftliche Richtung negiert also nicht, indem sie mit allen wissenschaftlichen Teilergebnissen früherer Zeiten ausräumt. Diesem Umstand muß ja Rechnung getragen werden, sei es auf die Weise, daß sie die grundlegenden Thesen der unmittelbar vorhergegangenen Richtung weiterentwickelt oder heftig angreift, sei es, indem sie auf noch frühere Theorien zwecks ihrer Reinterpretation, Neuüberprüfung auf Grund von Ansprüchen einer höheren Stufe zurückgreift. Nach einmütigem Bekenntnis der Theoriegeschichte folgen also die einander ablösenden Theorien — ob dies die militanten Vertreter der einzelnen Theorien anerkennen oder nicht — eine aus dem anderen, sei es, indem die früheren weiterentwickelt werden, sei es, daß ihre Teilergebnisse oder ihr ganzes theoretisches System in Abrede gestellt werden.

3.2. Die Umwertung der wissenschaftlichen Kategorien. Ein zwangsläufiges Attribut des mit den obengeschilderten Zügen zu kennzeichnenden Entwicklungsprozesses ist die Erscheinung, daß beim Schein der neueren wissenschaftlichen Feststellungen die älteren wissenschaftlichen Kategorien sich umwerten und an ihrer Struktur Schwerpunktverschiebungen wahrzunehmen sind. Es kommt aber auch sehr häufig vor, daß die alten Begriffe durch ganz neue abgelöst werden. Dieser Prozeß folgt notwendigerweise aus jener optimistisch klingenden Hypothese, laut deren zur Deskription und — noch mehr — zur Explikation der neueren, sich dem erkennenden Geist des Menschen (der Gesellschaft) erschließenden Gesetzmäßigkeiten der unendlichen Wirklichkeit immer neuere Theorien und Begriffe benötigt werden. So schreitet also die gesellschaftliche Erkenntnis auf die immer exaktere Erkenntnis der Erscheinungen und Prozesse zu, deshalb ist sie sehr oft gezwungen, ihre Begriffe umzuwerten, noch mehr, neue Begriffe einzuführen, aus dem einfachen Grund, weil es sehr häufig dazu kommt, daß zur Deskription der neueren Gesetzmäßigkeiten, zur Erschließung und Erklärung der Essenz von komplizierteren Bewegungsformen die alten Begriffe und Kategorien nicht ausreichen. Deshalb erfahren wir sehr oft, daß selbst der Wert der »klassischen« Kategorien auf Grund neuer wissenschaftlicher Einsichten wieder auf die Waage gelegt werden müssen, und ihre Beibehaltung bzw. Abänderung oder sogar ihre Ablehnung nicht nach dem Attribut *klassisch* beurteilt wird, sondern die »Strenge« der neuen Ergebnisse über sie das Urteil fällt.

Wie dies eine allgemein bekannte theoriegeschichtliche Tatsache ist, war der Begriff des *k l a s s i s c h e n* *N a t u r g e s e t z e s* eine der zen-

tralen Kategorien der Naturwissenschaft der Neuzeit. Die Newtonsche klassische Physik, und danach die Darwinsche Biologie, erschlossen jene essentiellen Merkmale der Naturgesetze, die für diesen Begriff heute noch charakteristisch sind: objektive Beschaffenheit; die Gesetze sind die Widerspiegelungen der materiellen Welt; der Zusammenhang von Gesetz und Essenz; das System der Gesetze u.dgl. Diese Gesetzkonzeption führte die Naturwissenschaftler der Neuzeit notgedrungen zur Hypothese der kausalen Determiniertheit, dann zu deren positiven Demonstration an Hand unzähliger Experimente. Es genügt, an nichts anderes zu denken, als an die klassischen Gesetze der Veränderung des Aggregatzustands (aus Wasser wird Dampf). Zur Beschreibung der mechanischen Bewegungsform der Materie war also dieser Naturgesetz-Begriff, genauer eine seiner fundamentalen Thesen, vollkommen geeignet, laut deren muß bei gegebenen objektiven Bedingungen die Änderung »blind, auf eine Weise, die keine Ausnahmen kennt«, erfolgen.²⁰ Doch der Naturforscher unserer Tage stößt auf Schritt und Tritt auf Erscheinungen, die »bezeigen, daß der klassische Determinismus nicht nur den Naturgesetzen nicht entspricht, sondern nicht einmal ihre genügend exakte Formulierung ermöglicht.«²¹

Nach alledem kann die Frage gestellt werden, ob im Lichte der neuen wissenschaftlichen Aufgaben und Ergebnisse das klassische Gesetz der Veränderung des Aggregatzustands schon in die Requisitenkammer der Theoriegeschichte gehört? Die fundamentale These des klassischen Zustandsänderungsgesetzes, die hundertprozentige Ausnahmslosigkeit, ist auch heute noch gültig in der exakten Beschreibung der Veränderung des Aggregatzustandes. Die Aufgabe des modernen Naturwissenschaftlers besteht jedoch in der Erschließung viel subtilerer Bewegungsformen. Als Ergebnis dieser Forschungsarbeit verliert das zur exakten Beschreibung der mechanischen Bewegungsformen der Materie geeignete Zustandsänderungsgesetz auch heute nicht an seiner Gültigkeit, nur sein Wirkungsbereich hat sich in außerordentlichem Maße eingengt: das befriedigt das Bedürfnis der exakten Erklärung der quantenmechanischen Prozesse nicht mehr.

Soll all das vielleicht bedeuten, daß einer der Fundamentalsätze des klassischen Naturgesetzes, der Gedanke der kausalen Determiniertheit aufzugeben wäre? Keinesfalls: wir müssen nur die früheren Merkmale eben den neuen Ergebnissen »anpassen«. Die Starrheit des Gedankens des klassischen Determinismus wird also immer mehr durch eine Ela-

²⁰ Wie bekannt, das war auch der Fundamentalsatz des Lautgesetzbegriffs der Junggrammatiker. Die Veränderung des Gesetzbegriffes ist detailliert dargelegt in: Kovács, *Linguistic Structures and Linguistic Laws*. Budapest 1971, 220–369.

²¹ V. Á. Fok, *A kvantummechanika interpretációjáról* [Über die Interpretation der Quantenmechanik]. Im Sammelband: *A modern természettudományok filozófiai problémái* [Philosophische Probleme der modernen Naturwissenschaften]. Budapest 1962, 285.

stizität abgelöst, in welcher der Platz der Ausnahmslosigkeit vom Wahrscheinlichkeitscharakter des Eintritts eingenommen wird. Es wird also ein Unterschied zwischen dem potentiell Möglichen und dem Realisierten gemacht. In Anbetracht dieses neuen Begriffs verwandelt sich auch der Begriff der Kausalität; die moderne Kausalitätsvorstellung »bezieht sich also auf die potentiell möglichen, doch in der Wirklichkeit nicht eingetroffenen Ereignisse.«²²

Sind Schwerpunktverschiebungen von so großem Maße in der Struktur des modernen Naturgesetzbegriffs zu beobachten, so müssen wir eine noch größere Elastizität in dem neuen Begriffsinhalt der die Bewegungsordnung der gesellschaftlichen Prozesse erschließenden sog. gesellschaftlichen Gesetze — und damit in unserem Falle auch der Sprachgesetze — annehmen. Bei diesen letzteren bedeutet nämlich die Objektivität nicht nur, daß es sich bei der Herausgestaltung und Durchführung der gesellschaftlichen und sprachlichen Prozesse um vom Willen der einzelnen Menschen unabhängig existierenden Bewegungsarten handelt, sondern daß diese Objektivität auch das Beachten der subjektiven Faktoren impliziert.

Auf Grund von all dem: »Der wirkliche Wert der wissenschaftlichen Kategorien kann — und muß auch! — im Prozeß des unaussetzlichen Fortschrittes der menschlichen Erkenntnis festgestellt werden. Was früher mit dem Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit der Erklärung von Erscheinungen aufgetreten war (absoluter Wert), das wird infolge der Erschließung der neueren und tieferen Gesetzmäßigkeiten nur zur Wahrnehmung des einen oder anderen Aspekts der Erscheinungen und Prozesse mehr geeignet (relativer Wert). Nichts ist in gnoseologischer Hinsicht gefährlicher als die Erstarrung der Kategorien. Der Mangel an Elastizität der Kategorien zieht eine Erstarrung der Theorie nach sich (die Entstehung von Dogmen), was doch den Tod der Wissenschaft bedeuten würde. All das bedeutet natürlich nicht die allgemeine Relativierung der Kategorien, aber auch nicht, als ob es die Negation der theoriegeschichtlichen Bedeutung von früheren, mit dem Anspruch der restlosen Erklärung auftretenden Kategorien bzw. Theorien wäre. Die dialektische Beschaffenheit der marxistischen Gnoseologie steht den Fachwissenschaften eben darin bei, daß sie sowohl vor der Über- als auch der Unterbewertung der Kategorien warnt, sie die (in ihrer Zeit die Vollständigkeit der Erklärung verlangenden) Kategorien, Theorien und Richtungen historisch betrachtet und sie unter dem Blickwinkel des Dynamismus des Erkennungsprozesses bewertet.«²³

Das vorgetragene berührt aber schon den terminologischen Widerschein der Entwicklung der Wissenschaften.

²² Ebd.

²³ F. Kovács, *Irányzatok, tanulságok* [Tendenzen und Lehren]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 72 [1970] 13.

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4. Die Rolle der Terminologie in der Entwicklung der Wissenschaften

Untersuchen wir die Entwicklung der Wissenschaften in den Prozeß der allgemeinen menschlichen (gesellschaftlichen) Erkenntnis eingebettet, — und was könnten wir sonst tun? — so müssen wir u.a. von der These ihrer gesellschaftlichen Determiniertheit ausgehen. Dies bedeutet aber nichts weniger, als daß die Entwicklung einer jeden Wissenschaft, direkt oder übertragen, berufen ist, die praktischen Bedürfnisse der gegebenen Etappe der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung zu befriedigen. Es lohnt sich, uns hier die allbekannte theoriegeschichtliche Tatsache ins Gedächtnis zurückzurufen, daß auch die Benennungen der ältesten Fachwissenschaften eindeutig auf das gesellschaftliche Bedürfnis, an seine Befriedigung hinweisen. Die heutige *Geometrie* kam einst — trotz ihrer sehr abstrakten Axiome — auf Grund des Bedürfnisses der Landvermessung zustande. Die *Botanik* bekam ihre Benennung von der Fütterung der Haustiere. Die Begründer der *Astronomie* waren auch nicht Philosophen, sondern Seeleute und Landbauern. (Zu dieser letzteren vgl. *Gluckhenne*). Die Darwinsche Theorie entsproß ebenfalls der Beobachtung der Tierveredelungspraxis der englischen Viehzüchter und erzielte deren Verbesserung.

Diese gesellschaftliche Determiniertheit der einzelnen Fachwissenschaften bedeutet weiterhin, daß diese auch bestrebt sind, die von dem jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnis gestellten wissenschaftlichen Fragen zu beantworten. Als die primäre Aufgabe des gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnisses die immer genauere Feststellung der Bewegungsordnung auf der Oberfläche des gegebenen Wirklichkeitsbereichs, die Erschließung der augenfälligsten Regelmäßigkeiten war, ist der zur Beschreibung dieser Regelmäßigkeiten berufene Terminus nicht zufälligerweise das Wort *Regel* geworden. Übertragen wir diese Feststellung auf das Terminus-Bedürfnis der Anfangsperiode der Sprachwissenschaft, so sticht sofort die Gesamtheit der grammatischen Regeln ins Auge, die die Gesamtheit der Oberflächenordnung der sprachlichen Bewegung umfaßt. Die Aufgabe in dieser Periode ist also die Feststellung der augenfälligsten sprachlichen Verhaltensregeln und ihre Kodifikation. Derselben Aufgabe wurde die klassische lateinische Linguistik gegenübergestellt, als es zur Übertragung des griechischen theoretischen Erbguts ins Lateinische kam: auf Grund einer anfänglichen Kollation der beiden Sprachen (eines genialen Vorgefühls der Kontrastivität) mußten die augenfälligen Oberflächenunterschiede festgestellt werden. Diese Arbeit ergab gleichfalls eine Fülle von grammatischen Regeln.

In einer späteren Etappe der Entwicklung der Wissenschaft, als das gesellschaftliche Bedürfnis durch die exakte Deskription der oberflächlichen Regelmäßigkeiten nicht mehr befriedigt wurde, sondern die Erschließung der

in der Tiefe der Oberflächenbewegung liegenden Zusammenhänge die Aufgabe war, wurde die Unzulänglichkeit der Regel-Termini sofort offenbar. Als die Aufgabe die Erschließung der Zusammenhänge der Gesetzmäßigkeiten in der Tiefe der Dinge und der Prozesse war, entstand einer der markantesten, die Entwicklung der Wissenschaften äußerst beschleunigenden Termini der Neuzeit: das Gesetz (*physikalische, chemische, biologische, gesellschaftliche Gesetze* usw.). Die exakten Forschungsmethoden zur Erschließung der Gesetzmäßigkeiten erreichten staunenswerte Ergebnisse durch die eingehende Untersuchung der Einzelheit sowohl der physischen als auch der gesellschaftlichen Bewegungsformen (die Epoche der Differenzierung der Wissenschaften).

Als es aber dann statt der exakten Beschreibung der Einzelheiten, statt der Erklärung der inneren Zusammenhänge zu der Zusammenfassung der Teilergebnisse kam, die Synthesegößerer Zusammenhänge auf einer höheren Ebene zu der zu lösenden Aufgabe wurde, zeigte sich in der Entwicklung der Wissenschaften die entgegengesetzte Tendenz: es fand der Prozeß der Integration der Wissenschaften statt. In diesem Prozeß wurde die oft überbetonte Selbständigkeit der einzelnen Teildisziplinen mit der Zeit zum Hemmschuh der gesellschaftlichen Erkenntnis höheren Ranges. Immer häufiger wurde die Wissenschaft vor die Lösung solcher komplexen Aufgaben gestellt, die allein weder die eine noch die andere Fachwissenschaft übernehmen konnte: ihr Standpunkt und ihre Methode befriedigten die zur Lösung der komplexen Aufgaben unbedingt erforderlichen methodologischen Ansprüche nicht. Zur Befriedigung der neuen Ansprüche kamen der Reihe nach gelegentliche oder definitive »Intersektionswissenschaften« (*interscientiae*) zustande. In diesem Integrationsprozeß sind nicht mehr die Unterscheidungsmerkmale der verschiedenen Fachwissenschaften dominant, sondern die der Zusammenarbeit zugrunde liegenden Gleichheiten oder wenigstens Ähnlichkeiten.

Den dargestellten dynamischen Charakter des gesellschaftlichen Erkenntnisprozesses können wir im nachstehenden versinnlichen: Solange das gesellschaftliche Bedürfnis durch die Beschreibung der Bewegungsformen der Materie befriedigt wurde, erwiesen sich die Mittel der *Physik*, der *Biologie*, der *Chemie* usw. ausreichend zur Lösung der Aufgabe. Solange z. B. die Aufgabe in der *Deskription* der Bewegung der Planeten bestand, konnte sie die *Astronomie* versehen. (Aber auch dabei belegte der *mathematische Apparat* eine nicht zu vernachlässigende Rolle.) Doch in unseren Tagen schon, als das Erreichen der Planeten auf der Tagesordnung ist, erweist sich bei dieser Aufgabe die integrierte Zusammenarbeit außerordentlich vieler Fachwissenschaften als nötig. Termini, die die integrierende Wirkung der Fachwissenschaften verraten, sind z. B. *Astrophysik*, *Astronautik*, *Astrochemie*, *Astrobiologie* usw. Oder aus dem Bereich der Biologie: Solange

die Aufgabe in der Beantwortung der allgemeinsten Fragen des Lebens bestand, konnte ihr die *a l l g e m e i n e B i o l o g i e* gewachsen sein. In unseren Tagen aber, als der Aufgabenkreis des bewußten Eingriffes in die Gestaltwerdung der zur Welt kommenden Nachkömmlinge, oder der Beschleunigung des Lernens, der Verstärkung des Erinnerungsvermögens auf die Tagesordnung gestellt wurde, konnte die allgemeine Biologie mit ihrer Methodologie diesen Aufgaben nicht mehr gerecht werden. Die die Lösung derartiger Aufgaben übernehmende Wissenschaft komplexer Beschaffenheit ist die *Molekularbiologie*, die einen intersektionswissenschaftlichen Komplex von *Zytologie*, *Genetik* und *Biochemie* darstellt.

Beziehen wir die essentiellen Züge der Aufgaben, die der gegenwärtigen Wissenschaft gestellt werden, auf die Ansprüche gegenüber unserer eigenen Wissenschaft und gehen von den Elementen der gesellschaftlichen Determiniertheit der Sprache aus,²⁴ so erscheinen die viel bestrittenen »extralinguistischen« Faktoren in einem ganz anderen Licht, doch nebst diesen auch all jene »mehrgliedrigen« Termini, die diese Faktoren mit sich bringen: *Ethnolinguistik*, *Soziolinguistik*, *kybernetische Linguistik*, aber auch Synchronie und Diachronie, usw. Gleichfalls eine Begleiterscheinung der gesellschaftlichen Determiniertheit ist auch jener jüngste gesellschaftliche Anspruch, der infolge der Ausdehnung der Beziehungen zwischen den Völkern und Nationen verschiedener Sprachen entstanden ist: es steigerte sich das Lernen von Fremdsprachen, dessen sprachwissenschaftliches Abbild *die kontrastive Linguistik* und die moderne Reinterpretation des Humboldtschen »*faculté de langage*«-Gedankens, die darauf beruhende *generative Grammatik*, sind.

Das Charakteristikum unseres Zeitalters ist also die Übernahme der komplexen Aufgaben und die Herausbildung der einschlägigen intersektionswissenschaftlichen, interdisziplinären Methodologie, weiterhin ihr terminologisches Abbild: die »*Plusnamen*«-Disziplinen.

Auf Grund der Züge und Determinanten der Entwicklung der Wissenschaft und ihrer terminologischen Folgen kann das Erfassen der Essenz der Terminologie, die Umschreibung ihrer Rolle in der Entwicklung der Wissenschaften im folgenden versucht werden: »Die Terminologie ist eine solche Gesamtheit von Wörtern, Ausdrücken, Konstruktionen, ein solches sprachliches Mittel, die bzw. das aus dem Boden der menschlichen (gesellschaftlichen) Erkenntnis gewachsen ist, ein treuer Spiegel der jeweiligen Phasen des Erkenntnisprozesses, als Konzentrat der von den einzelnen Wissenschaften in der

²⁴ Die Sprache ist individuell, gleichzeitig aber auch gesellschaftlich, der Anteil der Sprache an der Erkenntnis der Welt (kognitive Rolle), die Rolle der Sprache in der Mitteilung der gesellschaftlich akkumulierten Kenntnisse und der durch diese ausgelösten Emotionen (kommunikative Rolle), der allgemeine semiotische, semiologische Aspekt der Sprache, die dynamische Korrelation des sprachlichen Zustands und der sprachlichen Bewegung usw.

gegebenen Entwicklungsphase erreichten wichtigsten Ergebnisse, als Sammlung der repräsentablen Ausdrücke der gegebenen wissenschaftlichen Disziplin bzw. treuer Anzeiger der Integration der Wissenschaften in einer anderen Phase der Entwicklung der Wissenschaften.«²⁵

5. Der linguistische Niederschlag des »Zeitgeistes«: die »Ismen«

Untersuchen wir die Stellung der die Hauptstationen der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft prägenden verschiedenen Richtungen, Schulen und »Ismen«, ihre Rolle in der Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft in den dargestellten gnoseologischen Rahmen eingebettet, so können wir die Zusammenhänge ihrer historischen Nacheinanderfolge und ihre Verknüpfung feststellen sowie die zwischen ihnen bestehenden scheinbaren oder echten Widersprüche aufheben. Wir gehen von der gnoseologischen These aus, daß allerlei wissenschaftliche (einen theoretischen Anspruch habende) Richtungen, die »Ismen« aller Art, je eine historische Kategorie sind, die typische Theorie einer mit relativ einheitlichen Merkmalen beschreibbaren Epoche, die sich auf dem Boden der theoretisch-ideologischen Ansprüchen herausgebildet hat, sich entwickelt, wirkt und direkt oder übertragen einem bestimmten Ideensystem dient. Neue herrschende Ideenströmungen (»Zeitgeist«) bringen neue »Ismen« hervor, die auf Grund der obenerwähnten Negation der Negation in philosophischem Sinne die frühere kritisieren und »negieren«, ihren Geltungsbereich verengen, gleicherweise mit dem Anspruch wie die früheren: sie wünschen die Essenz der Erscheinungen und Prozesse in ihrer Totalität zu deuten.

Ohne die Charakterisierung solchen Anspruchs der verschiedenen theoretischen Richtungen, der linguistischer »Ismen«, könnten wir schwerlich eine befriedigende Erklärung für ihre Essenz und ihre Beziehungen geben, doch ohne dies könnten wir auch die Hauptlinie der linguistischen Richtungen unserer Zeit, die simultane Vielfalt nicht richtig einschätzen und verstehen. Diese Untersuchung muß auch darauf Antwort geben können, inwieweit die einzelnen Richtungen mit ihren sich zeitbeständig erwiesenen Teilergebnissen zu den Bemühungen um die je gründlichere Erkenntnis der Sprache beigetragen haben, inwiefern kann — und muß auch! — der Linguist von heute sich auf ihre Teilwahrheiten stützen. Eindeutig muß festgestellt werden, daß ohne die Berücksichtigung all dieser Komponenten unsere theoriegeschichtliche Anschauung einseitig, noch mehr, ungerecht werden und sogar in einen theoriegeschichtlichen Nihilismus münden kann. Die Beispiele der jüngsten Vergangenheit dienen zu einem sehr zu beherzigenden Memento. Unsere polemische Stellungnahme zu den verschiedenen Richtungen ist nämlich die eine

²⁵ F. Kovács, *Szemantika* [Semantik]. Budapest 1976, 13.

Sache, und wieder eine andere ist die Forderung des Festhaltens an der historischen Wahrheit. Beide müssen sich organisch ergänzen.

Kritisieren wir auch auf Grund unserer heutigen Fachkenntnisse und theoretisch-ideologischen Ansprüche diese oder jene Richtung — und das müssen wir ja ohnehin tun —, so berechtigt uns diese Grundstellung noch keinesfalls dazu, unsere Kenntnisse und theoretisch-ideologischen Ansprüche auch von einer fünfzig, hundert oder gar mehrere hundert Jahre zurückliegenden Richtung zu fordern. Täten wir das, so könnten wir nur die Negative der verschiedenen »Ismen« feststellen, und wir nähmen dabei die Wichtigkeit ihrer zeitbeständigen Ergebnisse oder Teilergebnisse, ihre theoriegeschichtliche Rolle nicht wahr.

Auch jene theoriegeschichtliche Tatsache müssen wir ständig vor Augen halten, daß einige militante Vertreter der verschiedenen Richtungen bemüht sind, ihre Theorie zu einem allgemeinen Erklärungsprinzip zu deklarieren.

Womit ist das zu erklären? Mit der schlichten Tatsache, daß die Vertreter der gegebenen Richtung vereinzelte wichtige Aspekte der äußerst komplizierten sprachlichen Struktur erkannt hatten (diese erkannte Teilwahrheit spiegelte auch wirklich einzelne wichtige Aspekte der Sprache wider) und diesen Aspekt gewöhnlich für bestimmend hielten (verabsolutierten). Leicht ist es zu verstehen — wenn man damit auch gleich nicht einverstanden sein darf —, daß das heuristische Erlebnis den Entdecker mit sich riß, und dieser also meinte, daß die erkannte Teilwahrheit zum Rang des allgemeinen spracherläuternden Prinzips erhoben werden kann.

Wir müssen zur Kenntnis nehmen, daß eine jede sprachtheoretische Richtung, die etwas zählt, nach der Totalität der Spracherläuterung strebte und ihre Vertreter auch überzeugt waren, diese auch erreicht zu haben. Doch der Standpunkt der Vertreter irgendeiner Richtung von der Totalität ihrer Anschauungen über die Sprachbeschreibung und -erläuterung sowie ihres Verfahrens ist eine Sache, und eine andere Sache ist wieder, wie jene vom Linguisten der heutigen Zeit auf Grund der Kenntnisse der heutigen Zeit eingeschätzt werden. Er nimmt die entdeckte Teilwahrheit zur Kenntnis, rückt sie in den Gang der Sprachtheorieentwicklung eingebettet auf den ihr zukommenden Platz, nutzt sie bei der Ausgestaltung seiner eigenen Sprachtheorie, zugleich aber grenzt er sich von den Übertreibungen ab.

Wieder allbekannt ist es, daß die Hauptrichtungen der Sprachtheorie bestrebt waren, ihre Erläuterungsprinzipien in einem System zusammenzufassen, das sich zur vollkommenen Erläuterung eines Aspekts der Sprache auch ausreichend sein konnte. Auf dieser Grundlage wurden die Erläuterungsprinzipien der gegebenen Richtung für Prinzipien eines geschlossenen Systems erklärt, und als solches für die Totalität der Spracherläuterung gehalten. Der sich mit der Theoriegeschichte befassende Linguist muß hingegen

dieser subjektiven Feststellung die theoriegeschichtliche These entgegenhalten, daß ein vollkommenes geschlossenes System der Erläuterungsprinzipien, berufen zur totalen Widerspiegelung aller Gesetzmäßigkeiten der von der gegebenen Wissenschaft untersuchten Erscheinungen ein naiver Wunschtraum und ein ziemlich pessimistisch ausklingender gnoseologischer Standpunkt ist. Falls nämlich die Wissenschaft so weit käme, würde sie — mangels weiterer Aufgaben — die Totenglocke selbst für sich läuten. Die äußerst komplizierten Bewegungsarten der Sprache vor Augen haltend, erweist sich die geordnete Ansammlung der für ein geschlossenes System erklärten Erläuterungsprinzipien als offenes System, Teilsystem, das nur dazu gut ist — dazu ist es aber wirklich gut —, um Schritt für Schritt der je vollkommeneren, aber nie totalen, endgültigen Erkenntnis der sprachlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten näher zukommen.

Einige Beispiele, um das Gesagte zu illustrieren: Der auf die philosophisch-kognitiven Intuition des klassischen Altertums zurückführbare Rationalismus des 17—18. Jahrhunderts inspirierte z.B. den schon erwähnten, von C. F. Becker verbürgten *linguistischen Logizismus*. Diese Richtung hat den Anteil der Sprache an der Erkenntnis sowie auch dessen Wichtigkeit erkannt, und das hat sie unermesslich übertrieben für die Totalität der Spracherklärung gehalten. Auch der sich im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts herausgebildete *linguistische Historismus* ist eine Frucht der theoretischen Einstellung seines Zeitalters. Die bevorzugte Lösungsformel des Romantizismus als Stilrichtung war, sich der Vergangenheit zuzuwenden; den gegenwärtigen Zuständen stellte er die Sehnsucht nach »der alten Herrlichkeit« gegenüber. Ein eigenartiger Niederschlag dieser Zuwendung zur Vergangenheit war die sog. *historische Schule* des deutschen Rechtes (Savigny und seine Anhänger), die den radikalen oder weniger radikalen Umwälzungen der französischen Revolution gegenüber die Aufrechterhaltung der konstanten Elemente der Vergangenheit, deren Wichtigkeit verkündete; ihre ideologische Grundstellung war also eindeutig rückständig. Der Einfluß der Savigny-Schule ist an der Anfangstätigkeit des Vertreters des linguistischen Historismus, Grimm deutlich zu spüren. Diese theoretische Einstellung sah die Essenz der Sprache in ihrer Geschichtlichkeit, faßte eine geschichtlich herausgebildete Form der Sprachentwicklung als Zustand auf und stellte diesen Zustand methaphysisch der Entwicklung entgegen: Sie setzte die Entwicklung vor den Zustand, außerhalb dessen, und sah auf diese Weise die wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis des Zustandes einzig in der Erschließung des Vorausgegangenen. Mit dieser theoretischen Einstellung schloß sie wesentliche Teile der Problematik der Sprachwissenschaft aus dem Bereich ihrer Untersuchungen aus, verzichtete also z.B. darauf, die Sprache als ein synchron funktionierendes System zu untersuchen. Diese Betrachtungsweise ergab zwangsläufig die Notwendigkeit des Zurückgreifens bis auf die »Urzustände«, doch sie veranlaßte

den Sprachforscher jener Zeit, die Fragen der Entstehung der Sprache auf einem recht morastigen Grund zu erklären; zugleich aber verzichtete sie auch nicht auf eine die verschiedenen Sprachen vergleichende wissenschaftliche Untersuchung. Auf Grund solcher Ansprüche legierte sich der als Kind der romantischen Zuwendung zur Vergangenheit entstandene *Historismus* mit dem auf die strengen (phonetischen) Aussagen der sprachlichen Tatsachen aufgebauten *Komparativismus* und ergab die *historisch-vergleichende Methode*.

Ein eigenartiger Zug dieser Entwicklungsetappe ist die Verbreitung der schon erwähnten naturwissenschaftlichen Anschauung in den Sprachforschungen. Als eine historische Tatsache sei festgestellt, daß die auf dem Boden des *Historismus* und der naturwissenschaftlichen Exaktheit entstandene Lautgesetzkonzeption die Sache der sprachhistorischen Forschungen in sehr großem Maß förderte. Untersuchen wir die ganze Motivkette, die zur Herausbildung dieser viel umstrittenen Kategorie diente, so muß festgestellt werden, daß wir eine eigenartige theoretische Legierung vor uns haben. Der für das letzte Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts charakteristische allgemeine *Psychologismus* hat das als Folge der romantischen Zuwendung zur Vergangenheit ausgebildete Prinzip, den *Historismus*, einverleibt und zugleich auch die »naturwissenschaftliche Strenge«, der sich auf Grund der empirischen Wahrnehmung der sprachlichen Tatsachen herausbildete. In der Ausgestaltung der psychologistischen junggrammatischen Schule können wir wirklich vielsagend die im philosophischen Sinne aufgefaßte Negation des Vorausgegangenen ertappen: Diese Richtung lehnte die Konzeption der naturwissenschaftlichen Linguistik ab, leibte aber gleichzeitig die aus dem Boden des naturwissenschaftlichen Empirismus, der theoretischen Ansprüche auf Exaktheit emporgewachsene »Ausnahmslosigkeit« ein.

Die mit der historisch-vergleichenden linguistischen Methode erreichten wunderbaren Ergebnisse konnten aber die der Einseitigkeit dieser Richtung entsprossenen Mängel nicht verschleiern: Es verfielen gänzlich der Vergessenheit jene Humboldtschen allgemeinen linguistischen Feststellungen, laut deren das komparative Studium der Sprachen mit der Erschließung der Form (d.h.: des Systems) der Sprachen identisch ist.

Die Kritik an dieser einseitigen Sprachbetrachtung ließ auch nicht lange auf sich warten. Eben die gutgeschulten Junggrammatiker, Saussure und Bloomfield, nahmen ihren Hauptmangel wahr: es fehlte aus ihrem Forschungsbereich die Erschließung der Gesetzmäßigkeiten des synchronen Zustands der Sprache, genauer gesagt, die diesbezüglichen Bemühungen.

Saussure war ein Kind der Wissenschaft seiner Zeit, er legierte jene theoretischen Thesen zu einer synthetischen Ganzheit, auf deren Lösung der Anspruch schon »in der Luft lag«. Bei der Alternative von *synchroner* oder *diachroner* Sprachforschung argumentierte er eindeutig für die Existenzberechtigung der ersteren, genauer: er hielt jene für die *Ausgangsbasis*. Mit der dichotomistischen Definition von *langue* und *parole*

trennte er in der Sprache von dem, was determinierend und gemeinsam ist, das, was individuell und akzidental ist. Dadurch, daß er die Sprache als ein Gesamt von Zeichen auffaßte und die systemhaftige Strukturierung der Zeichen erkannte, bettete er die Sprachwissenschaft in den Rahmen einer neu entstehenden allgemeinen Zeichentheorie (Semiologie) ein. Freilich ist Saussure auch in dem Sinne ein Kind seiner Zeit, daß er bei der Ausgestaltung seiner Sprachtheorie die psychologische Interpretation nicht loswerden konnte, aber auch nicht wollte. Diese psychologische »Verunreinigung« wird von manchen für einen Mangel der Saussureschen Sprachtheorie gehalten. Nehmen wir aber die jüngsten Ergebnisse der modernen psycholinguistischen Forschungen in Betracht, so kann sich diese Sprachtheorie gegen die »Infektion« des Psychologismus leicht abschirmen.

Die von empirischer Seite her geübte Kritik an der auf Grund eines unleugbar sehr hochgradigen Abstraktionsbedürfnisses ausgestalteten Saussureschen Sprachtheorie ist der taxonomische Deskriptivismus der amerikanischen Sprachwissenschaft, die sog. Bloomfieldsche Linguistik. Von den vorwärtsweisenden Elementen dieser linguistischen Richtung war schon früher die Rede, hier soll nur ihr eindeutiger Antimentalismus, ihr einseitiger Physikalismus, erwähnt werden. Doch Tatsache bleibt bei all dem Tatsache: Im zweiten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts war in der amerikanischen Sprachwissenschaft die Bloomfieldsche Sprachbetrachtung die herrschende, die amerikanische Linguistik eindeutig bestimmende Richtung.

Die völlige Verbannung der mentalen Faktoren aus dem Bereich der linguistischen Untersuchungen, die allgemeine antisemantische Attitude war die höchste Schwäche dieser Richtung. Notwendigerweise erfolgte also die Kritik dieser Richtung von einer mentalen, semantischen Grundstellung her (Katz-Fodor, Chomsky). Die Chomskysche Linguistik stellte dem taxonomischen Empirismus den reinterpretierten Rationalismus der Kartesianischen Linguistik, ihre über die sprachschöpferische Kraft der Innatentheorie verkündeten Thesen entgegen. Die antisemantische theoretische Einstellung wurde von der Vielseitigkeit und Tiefe der semantischen Forschungen abgelöst. Die bisher erzielten Ergebnisse der semantischen Forschungen zu summieren, obliegt der ersten Plenarsitzung des XII. Internationalen Linguistenkongresses unter dem Titel »Grundprobleme der Semantik«. Von der Vielfalt der in diese Teildisziplin fallenden Untersuchungen sollen hier einige Termini zeugen: *strukturelle Semantik*, *deskriptive Semantik*, *interpretative Semantik*, *lexikalische Semantik*, *Satzsemantik*, *Textsemantik* usw.

Da einige Repräsentanten der einander — manchmal ziemlich schnell — ablösenden Richtungen, »Ismen«, die wissenschaftliche Bedeutung der früheren

Richtungen betreffend ein Verhalten negativen Charakters aufwiesen, ist unter den sich mit Theoriegeschichte befassenden Beiträgen auch eine derartige Feststellung zu lesen, daß die einander ablösenden Richtungen im wesentlichen »die Zerrissenheit der Sprachwissenschaft« widerspiegeln. Handelt es sich wirklich darum? Würden wir die Richtungsänderungen auf Grund von Äußerungen militanter Vertreter der einzelnen Richtungen einschätzen, so könnte sich in unserer Anschauung etwas derartiges festsetzen. Beurteilen wir aber vom obengeschilderten gnoseologischen Gesichtspunkt her, wie sich die Richtungsänderungen aufeinander aufbauen und welchen einander ergänzenden Charakter sie aufweisen, so haben wir keinen Grund, eine Zerrissenheit vorauszusetzen. Vielmehr entfaltet sich vor unseren Augen die bunte Kavalkade der Entwicklung des »sprachlichen Gedankens«, der einzelnen Stationen dieser Entwicklung, in welcher Kavalkade die geschilderten gnoseologischen Prinzipien die Orientierung, das Anordnungsprinzip darbieten. Das ist jenes »axiomatische Postulat«,²⁶ das die prinzipielle Richtschnur, die Art und Weise der Darstellung der Theoriegeschichte bestimmt.

Im Lichte der erwähnten Gnoseologie ist eine natürliche Folge der Entwicklung des Sprachgedankens, daß sich dem Forscher zuerst die einfacheren (*phonetischen, prosodischen*) Regelmäßigkeiten erschließen und auf diese die Ergebnisse der komplizierteren *morphologischen, syntaktischen, semantischen, text-theoretischen* Forschungen folgen. Zuerst erfolgt die Erkenntnis der auffallenden Regelmäßigkeiten der Form, worauf die Erschließung der inneren, »latenten« Zusammenhänge bzw. Gesetzmäßigkeiten folgt. Diese chronologische Aussage der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft ergibt sich notwendigerweise aus der allbekannten These, laut welcher die menschliche (gesellschaftliche) Erkenntnis ein unablässig progressiver Prozeß ist, der samt seinen Abstechern, aber auch seinen theoretischen Irrtümern doch unaufhörlich vom Einfachen her auf die Erklärung der Essenz der komplizierten Erscheinungen, auf die immer vollständigere Erkenntnis der verschiedensten Bereiche der materiellen Welt zuschreitet.

²⁶ V. A. Zvegincev, a.a.O., 25—26.

ON THE PECULIARITIES OF LINGUISTIC
INTERFERENCE IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE
NORTHERN PART OF THE EURO-ASIAN
LINGUISTIC AREA

By

S. ROT

Recent years have seen vigorous movement in the science of language. New linguistic trends are being called to life amidst heated discussions accompanied by howling cynics who divide the students of the language — this greatest miracle of homo sapiens — into mutually exclusive classes: ‘God’s truth’ linguists and ‘hocus pocus’ linguists, and speak about a continued crisis in the science of language. But there is no reason to cry craven because in the words by H. Schuchardt: “Krise in der Sprachwissenschaft. Das ist ein gutes Wort”.¹ And really the controversies in linguistics have shown that the multi-lateral wars waged between ‘God’s truth’ neogrammarians yielding to the ‘hocus pocus’ structuralistic Dadaists, vanquished by the new ‘God’s truth’ transformational prescriptivists and these in turn reconciled by an even higher ‘God’s truth’ of adherents of variationists, though sometimes superficial and fleeting, contributed to the development of the science of language.

Tired of extreme empiricism and mentalism, which we feel were given fair trials, we welcome the ideas of isomorphism whose seeds lay dormant in the works by the famous A. M. Ampère and which helped the eminent N. Wiener to create the theory of cybernetics.

The recognition of how great the role of isomorphism is resulted in a quest for the common features of languages, an inference with regard to discernible universals (definitional, empirical, selective, formal, connective, etc.), a research into the problems of areal linguistics, a study into linguistic interference of language contacts, contributed to the birth of neostratic approaches, suggested new ideas in semasiology.

Contemporary semasiology pursues two lines of research, functional (or operational²) and genetic (the study of change in meaning).

One of the most debated and still debatable problems in the genetic research of semasiology is the question of the regularities of semantic change.

¹ H. Schuchardt, *Schuchardt-Brevier*, Halle 1928, 451.

² S. Ullman, *The Concept of Meaning in Linguistics*. In: *Archivum Linguisticum* 8 [1956] fasc. 1. 13.

Compared to the voluminous production of the linguistic industry on this question, its practical results are dishearteningly slack.

In order that the ensuing outline might be an objective and dispassionate analysis, a definition of a minimum semasiological unit should be constructed. Linguistic terminology has fortuitously heralded a long row of such minimum units out of which the following are a random selection: *lexeme*, *moneme*, *semanteme*, *sememe*. A *lexeme* is the result of the linear dismemberment of word into its constitutive parts. It helps to oppose the semantical and grammatical morphemes and identifies the meaning of a part of the word only. A *moneme* is too global; in addition, it is extralinguistically defined.³ A *semanteme* as a term is polysemantic: it either means a minimum lexical form or its signification. A *sememe* is the derivative of some general meaning inherent in a word (moneme).⁴

V. A. Zvegintsev has advanced a new interpretation under the term *monoseme*. A *monoseme* is defined as a "potential word-combining pattern whose textual identification is performed on the basis of distinctive linguistic (descriptive) features".⁵ The monoseme as a minimum semasiological unit is thus defined by the valency of the word in which it makes a variant part.

The properties of a monoseme can be discussed in terms of language (system) and speech (structure). The distinction between the two is very hard to make out; it is the stumbling stone of contemporary linguistic endeavour.

For the present purposes the distinction to be drawn is only functional. It has been much on the knowledgeable lips that language is functionally a means of communication. A closer inspection, however, will reveal the fallacy of this conclusion. Language is an aid to communication, but it does not communicate, it does not carry a message from the operator (speaker) to the operand (hearer). It is in speech that communication is carried out. Language is the infinite number of patterns in which the operator (speaker) encodes and the operand (hearer) decodes the linguistic information. It is to be comprehended "as a means of attaining the discontinuity, as a system of classification that is produced in the process of the human being's speech activity".⁶

Monosemes are bilateral. They exist on the language level as well as on the speech level. F. de Saussure employed two terms ("valeur" — 'value', and "signification" — 'meaning') to make the differentiation more obvious.

Monosemes on the speech level are in full accord with the communicative intention of the operator (speaker) and the operand (hearer) in discourse. Hence their two fundamental properties: they must be sensorily perceptible,

³ See: A. Rot, Problems of Modern British and American Slang. Budapest 1976, 17–18.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ This definition is an improvement on that given by V. A. Zvegintsev earlier; see: В. А. Звегинцев, Теоретическая и прикладная лингвистика. Москва 1968, 41.

⁶ Ibidem, 42.

otherwise they cannot reach the recipient (operand) of the communication, and they must be endowed with a fixed reference to the world of experience through concepts which are the content of communication. Thus monosemes of the speech level are two-aspect signs. The connection between the two aspects is arbitrary and non-motivated. The communicational reference turns the monosemes on the speech level into a meeting place at which the extralinguistic encroaches upon the linguistic domain.

Monosemes on the language level ("valeurs") make up a system of patterns through which the discontinuity of speech ("signification") is attained. Monosemes on the language level ought not to have recourse to the extralinguistic factors. In this sense, language is a system of pure "valeurs" (values) which depends upon nothing but the present condition of its composite elements.⁷

Monosemes are minimum linguistic semasiological units. The inevitable inference must be that the meaning of a word is a structure derivative from monosemes. The meaning of a word's monosemes can be defined as the sum total of the potential typical combinations in which the province of the uses of a given word can be fixed. The structure which is made up of word meanings stands higher in the semasiological hierarchy. It is the crisscross structure of the semantic changes.

One does not realize how strong a hold the structure of the monosemes on the language level has established upon him until he meets with a novel substitution. A monoseme is the valency of a lexical unit. The lexical units take their places which long continued use habituated them to, and there is a feeling for association and connection of them which only comes into consciousness when their usual forward flow is checked, interrupted or replaced by an innovation.

The innovations in the valency of a lexical unit arise due to the fact that the "significations" (meanings) of the monosemes on the speech level are in constant "drift" which "breaks through" the hierarchical structure of the "valeurs" (values) of these monosemes on the language level and results in semantic changes. What are this "drift" and these semantic changes brought into life by? In a drop of dawn dew the whole sun is mirrored. Similarly the same forces work in the constant "drift" of the "significations" (meanings) of the monosemes on the speech level and their interference in the hierarchical structure of the "valeurs" (values) of these monosemes on the language level as in the whole macrosystem of the language. In fact language, in E. Sapir's words, "moves down time in a current of its own making. It has a drift... Nothing is perfectly static. Every word, every grammatical element, every lo-

⁷ F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, translated from the French by W. Baskin. Fontana/Collins, New York—Glasgow 1974. 82.

cution, every sound and accent is a slowly changing configuration".⁸ This conception of perpetual and all-pervasive "drift" in language goes back to Heraclidean ideas. But it tries to avoid the crucial question what the motive forces of this language "drift" and linguistic changes are like.

The voluminous literature on this subject ranges from whimsical fantasies, ungrounded speculations, to serious attempts at singling out the forces which "cause" the "drift" of the macrosystem of language. But even scholars standing on the solid ground of the realities of language often approached the rather complicated cybernetic macrosystem of language and its changes with rough-and-ready pigeonholes, constructed a priori on the basis of a single criterion's data. Therefore they received only flimsy results here which brought to the exaggeration of a certain, either extralinguistic or intralinguistic factor. So H. Schuchardt and E. H. Sturtevant considered the main factor promoting linguistic changes to be the law of analogy and associative interference; V. V. Vinogradov — the internal laws of spontaneous development; J. Grimm and V. Humboldt — ethnopsychology; W. Wundt — culture; O. Jespersen — historical events; N. Y. Marr — the change of socio-economic formation; H. Osthoff and N. Bartoli — the geographical conditions; G. I. Ascoli and A. Meillet — language contacts; N. S. Trubetzkoy and T. P. Lomtyev — the restoration of the unstable balance; A. Martinet — the economy of linguistic efforts; G. Curtius and W. D. Whitney — love for leisure,⁹ etc.

Demanding for one of these, either intralinguistic or extralinguistic factors, a monopolistic position, researchers often turned them into omnipotent forces "causing" the "drift" of the macrosystem of language and its linguistic changes. It is noteworthy, as M. L. Samuels pointed out, that "though there is no logical objection to the term 'cause' but it has the disadvantage that it still carries with it the connotation of a single indivisible cause".¹⁰ Besides, there is the danger to be pushed in the "river-bed" of the principles of lineal causality which contradict the theory of reflection applied in the science of language.¹¹

Our investigations have shown that all of these and other intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors make up a rather complicated dynamic hierarchical structure where any "curved trajectory" of their function may be modified or even eliminated by the function of the neighbouring ones which try to capture

⁸ E. Sapir, *Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York, repr. 1949. 150–171; On linguistic change in general, see: E. Coseriu, *Sincronia, diacronia e historia. El problema del cambio lingüístico*. Montevideo 1958; H. M. Hoenigswald, *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction*. Chicago 1960.

⁹ See details in: A. M. Rot, *О движущих силах и закономерностях развития языка. Материалы Всесоюзной Конференции по общему языкознанию*. In: *Основные проблемы эволюции языка*, ч. 1., Самарканд 1966.

¹⁰ M. L. Samuels, *Linguistic Evolution; with Special Reference to English*. Cambridge University Press 1972, 3.

¹¹ See details on it in: A. Rot, *A magyar nyelv fejlődése. A magyar — keleti szláv nyelvi kapcsolatok*. Kijev — Uzsgorod 1968.

the dominant position in this hierarchy. Therefore, the functions displayed by "curved trajectories" of both intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors make up an interwoven bundle which in a non-linear causality works in the "drift" of the macrosystem of language and its linguistic changes.¹²

It is a commonplace that of all linguistic elements caught up in this "drift" words, especially their internal forms, i.e. the structure derivatives from monosemes, are probably the least resistant to linguistic change.

Nevertheless our dynamic synchronic approach¹³ to Indo-European, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Mongolic, Tungusic-Manchurian and Palaeo-Asian languages functioning in the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area¹⁴ has shown that in spite of their different genealogy and structural-typological character a great number of lexical units of these languages, and especially the internal forms of their words, possess common or resembling features. From the very dawn of its existence linguistics has tried to solve the question where the roots of these common or resembling phenomena in languages were. What a whimsical picture of ideas, theoretical speculations of different epochs, philosophical and linguistic schools one may come across here. During centuries many of these ideas and speculations grew out of the soil fertilized by the ancient philosophy of aprioristic naive glossocentrism.

As a reaction to the misleading approaches, based on this ancient philosophy, linguists of the 20-th century gave birth to different trends of relativism, starting with the descriptionists who exaggerated, through attributing absolute values to the language patterns, the specific in each language all the way to the Neo-Humboldtians and ethnolinguists who overstated the individual peculiarities of the internal form of each language.

The efforts made to overcome the errors of the relativists brought present-day linguistics to the recognition that in the light of the theory of isomorphism (in its broad notion, including isophonemism, isosemantism, etc.) linguistic universals may cover language phenomena of different character.

Thus language phenomena of the languages under study which display common or resembling features, both in their external or internal forms, are only algebraic values which cover phenomena of :

- (1) Parenté: e.g. Indo-European: E. *daughter* (< OE. *dohtor*); Du. *dochter*; Dan. *datter* ~ *dotter*; Swed. *dotter*; Norw. *datter* ~ *dotter*; Icel. *dóttir*, G. *Tochter* (Cf. Goth. *daúhtar*); Russ. *дочь* (< Old Russ. *доцу*); Ukr. *доу* (Gen. Sing. *доучепу*); Czech *dcera*; Pol. *córa*; Lith. *dukte* (Gen. Sing.

¹² See details in: A. M. Пот, Особенности взаимодействия языков и диалектов Карпатского ареала. Ужгород 1973, 5—53.

¹³ On the essence of the dynamic synchronic approach see: Ibidem.

¹⁴ A linguistic area does not coincide fully with a geographical one. Thus, for instance, a number of macroisoglotic lines of French and of the languages of Central Europe show that the northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area includes them as well.

dukters; Old Pruss. *duckti*); (Cf. Avest. *dugodar-*, Skt. *duhitṛ*; Tokh. "A" *ckācar*, "B" *tkācer*; Arm. *dustr*; Pers. *dukhtar*; Gk. *θυγάτηρ*): 'daughter' < PIE **dhughoter-* 'id.', etc.

- (2) Affinité: (a) Linguistic interference: e.g. Yak. *žilbin* ~ *žirbin* 'deciever, cheat, trickster; 'swindler' < Mong. *žilbi* ~ *žilви* 'deception; magic; hocus-pocus'; Uig. *jälvi* ~ *jilvi* 'sorcerer, magician', etc.
 (b) Structural-typological areal universals: e.g. Hung. *tiz|en|egy*; Slk. *jede|na|st*; Rum. *un|spre|zece*, (Cf. Pol. *jede|na|ście*, Russ. *оду|над|цать*, Byelor. *адзі|наў|цаць*, Ukr. *оду|над|цать*): 'eleven' (the structures mean literally: 'one upon ten'), etc.
 (c) Convergency: e.g. E. *mouth (of the river)*; Fr. *embouchure*; Swed. (*flod*) *mynning*; G. *Mündung (des Flusses)*; Czech *ústí*; Russ. *устье*; Rum. *gură (rîului)*, etc.: 'mouth of the river' (convergently developed the monosemes of this lexical unit with the meaning 'external orifice in head, with cavity behind it' on ground of referential likeness); cf. the internal form of the lexical units denoting 'mouth of the river' in Hung. *torkolat*, Ukr. *горловина (piku)* (convergently developed the monosemes of the lexical units Hung. *torok*, Ukr. *горло* denoting 'throat' on the basis of their metaphorical application, etc.

A thorough comparative, structural-typological and contrastive study of a large corpus of linguistic material (96.500 items) excerpted from modern fiction, magazines, journals, newspapers, scientific articles, records of folklore, different types of dictionaries of 32 languages functioning in the linguistic area under consideration has shown that out of 1520 lexical units, which display common or resembling features in their internal and external forms (or only in the internal one), from 11 to 27% cover phenomena of parenté, i.e. they go back to common genetic sources of their own "primitive" (ancestor) language (e.g. Hung. *ágy* 'bed', Vog. *al'a't* 'id.'; Komi-Zyr. (d.) *vol'* 'felt, reindeer skin (used for bed)' *voles* 'underlay'; Voty. (d.) *val'äs* 'bed'; ? Finn. *vuode* 'bed' < PFU **öl3 (*ōð3)* 'a skin or hay laid out to be used as a bed', etc; while from 36 to 54% cover phenomena of affinité, i.e. go back to linguistic interference, structural-typological areal universals or convergency (e.g. Koryak *чамолет* 'aeroplane' < Russ. *самолет* 'id.'; Neg. *χотон* 'town' < Manch. *choton*; Mong. *chot* ~ *chotan*; 'id.'; Hung. *diszpécser* < Russ. *диспетчер* < E. *dispatcher*: 'dispatcher of work'; E. *détente*, Germ. *Détente* < F. *détente* 'easing of strained relations especially between states'; Yak. *ädär* 'young, a young man; youth' < Mong. *eder*, *ider* 'ripe; strong; young'; Hung. *szedő* 'compositor, typesetter' — Russ. *наборщик* 'id.' (internal form: 'to pick up a type'); G. *Setzer* 'compositor, type-setter' — Slk. *sazieč* 'id.' (internal form 'to put down or to set a type'); Fr. *compositeur typographe* 'compositor, type-setter' — Ukr. *складач* 'id.' (internal form; 'to compose from types a slug'), etc.

The relatively smaller number of lexical units displaying in their internal and external forms common or resembling features which go back to phenomena of parenté do not allow us to have a nihilistic attitude to the genealogical families of languages functioning in this linguistic area. If we applied the theory of reflection to lexical nomination we could observe that even within a "primitive" (ancestor) language of a genealogical family, or within closely related languages different logical and psychological distinctive features of the same reality concept may be involved in moulding its lexical unit (the internal and the external forms); e.g. the lexical units of the concept 'human face' in the Finno-Ugric languages under examination; Hung. *arc* (from *orr* + *száj*) = 'nose + mouth', Vog. (d.) *ńal-sam* (from 'nose + eye'); Voty. *ím-nír* (from 'mouth + nose'); Est. *suu-silmad* (from 'mouth + eyes'); or the moulding of the lexical units denoting the concept 'to read' in the closely related Germanic languages. On the one hand, we have here the E. *to read* (< OE. *rēdan* 'to advise, consult, interpret, explain, read': cf. OHG. *rātan*, Germ. *raten*, OScand. *rátha*, Goth. *-rēdan* 'id.' see also: Ukr. *pađa*, Pol. *rada*, Czech *rada*: 'advice'; on the other hand, the Germ. *lesen* 'to read') < OHG. *lesan* 'to gather, read': cf. OFris. *lesa*, OE. *lesan*, OScand. *lesa*, Goth. *lisan*: 'to gather'. The E. *to read* reflects that the magic process of 'reading' runes was 'the giving of advice', while the Germ. *lesen* the process of 'gathering' the book sticks (cf. Germ. *Buchstabe* 'type, letter') which contained engraved runes.

Within the amount of lexical units which have got in the languages under study common or resembling features of their internal and external (or only internal) forms due to phenomena of affinité, great is the role of linguistic interference of their different types of language contacts.

Linguistic problems of language contacts (former: mixing of languages: interacting languages) were for a long time in the focus of researchers' attention. But having only nowadays overcome the delusions of the neogrammarians, their linguistic atomism, scholars managed to lay down the foundations of a new branch of linguistic science — the theory of language contacts and their linguistic interference. The successes this new branch of modern linguistics achieved during the last decades are respectable. But together with its successes much controversy has come to the surface recently, even in the questions what linguistic phenomena the term "language contacts" should include, what their types and subtypes are, what dynamic curves the linguistic interference of the "mechanism" of contacts of any of these types and subtypes creates, what degree of penetrability different linguistic levels of the receptor-language have, etc.

Our investigations have shown that the term "language contacts" should include all types of internal and external language interrelations starting with causal non-marginal contacts (including artificial subordinative bilingualism) and ending with permanent marginal, interregional, multilateral ones (which

include natural coordinative bilingualism). But as the results of the "field work" devoted to the study of concrete phenomena of language contacts are slack, there cannot be a universal theory of linguistic interference as yet. Nevertheless, our research of these problems, especially the "field work" in studying the results of language contacts in the Carpathian subarea which is part of the linguistic area under consideration, may suggest that the most dynamic curve creates the linguistic interference which goes back to natural coordinative bilingualism of permanent internal, interregional or multilateral language contacts of genealogically or structural-typologically closely related languages. The linguistic interference of this subtype makes up the following dynamic curve of the degree of penetrability of linguistic levels: lexics (lexico-semantics), syntax, word-formation, phonetics (phonology), and morphology.

But it is a commonplace to say that the linguistic level of lexics (lexico-semantics) is the most penetrable subsystem of the receptor-language, even in case of other subtypes language contacts.

The linguistic interference on the level of lexics (lexico-semantics) called into life due to language contacts of different types and subtypes, especially the multilateral ones, taking place in the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area promotes the formation of:

(a) lexical (direct, phonetical) loan-words: e.g. E. *bulldozer*¹⁵ >: Russ. *бульдозер*, Byelor. *бульдозер*, Ukr. *бульдозер*, Bur. *бульдозер*, Chuk. *булодозер*, Yak. *булодозер*: 'a heavy caterpillar tractor fitted with a broad steel blade in front, used for removing obstacles, levelling uneven surfaces, etc.'; Russ. *denymam* >: Komi-Perm. *denymam*, Vog. *denymam*, Moksha-Mord. *denymam*, Gil. *denymam* 'deputy': Grk. *σχολή* > Lat. *schola* >: OFr. *escole*, MoFr. *école*, E. *school*, Germ. (*die*) *Schule*, Dan. *skole*, Swed. *skola*, Norw. *skole*, Finn. *kola*, Russ. *школа*; Byelor. *школа*, Ukr. *школа*, Komi-Zyr. *школа*, Chuk. *школа*, Kor. *школа*, Udeg. *школа*, Pol. *szkola*, Slk. *škola*, Hung. *iskola*: 'institution for educating children or giving instruction'; Manch. *салин* (Genetic source — Chinese) > Bur. *салин* 'salary, wages'; Germ. *Museum*; Fr. *musée* >: Russ. *музей*, Itel. *музей*, Udeg. *музей*, Yak. *музей*, Gil. *музей*, Uig. *музей* 'museum'; Fr. *décade* (Lat. *decas -adis*) 'set or series of ten' > E. *decade* 'ten years', Russ. *декада* 'ten days' > Bur. *декада* 'ten days', Even. *декад* 'ten days', Komi-Zyr. *декада* 'ten days'; Germ. *Gas*; Fr. *gaz* (coined by J. B. van Helmont from Grk. *χάος* > Lat. *chaos* 'endless empty space'; Flemish *geest* 'vapour, fume') >: Swed. *gas*, Finn. *kaasu*, E. *gas*, Russ. *газ*; Hung. *gáz*; Vog. *газ*, Moksha-Mord. *газ*, Chuk. *газ*; 'gas'; Germ. *Dusche*; Fr. *douche* >: Russ. *душ*, Byelor. *душ*, Ukr. *душ*, Itel. *душ*, Vog. *душ*,

¹⁵ The genetic, or the primary historical source of lexical borrowing (or penetration) is shown in the first place. On these sources of etymological analysis see in reference 24.

Ost. *ðyʉ* 'shower'; Fr. *bureau* >: E. *bureau*, Germ. *Bureau*, Swed. *byrå*, Russ. *бюро*, Manch. *бюро*, Slk. *býro*: 'an office or business with a special function'; E. *dispatcher* > Russ. *диспетчер* >: Hung. *diszpécser*, Uig. *ducneqep*, Alt. *ducneqep*, Kent. *ducneqep*, 'one who gives orders for departure of goods, vehicles, etc.'; Fr. *aéroport* >: E. *airport*, Russ. *аэропорт*, Chuk. *aeponopm*, Komi-Perm. *aeponopm*, Udeg. *aeponopm*, Itel. *aeponopm* 'airport'; Fr. *service* >: E. *service*, Swed. *servis*, Norw. *servise*, Dan. *service*; Russ. *сервис*, Byelor. *сервис*, Ukr. *сервис*, Voty. *сервис*; 'service, servicing; set'; ORuss. *хлбв* > Finn. *lävä* (Karel. *leävä*); 'cattleshed; sheep-cote'; LGerm. *Kleid* > Est. *kleit*: 'cloth'; Turk.-Bulg. *kuno* > Voty. *куно* 'guest'; ORuss. *ложка* > Karel. *luzikka*: 'spoon'; Hung. *áldomás*¹⁶ > < Pol. d. *aldomasz* > < Germ. d. (tə) *aldomaš* > < Slk. *aldomáš*: 'drink; wetting a bargain'; Germ. d. (tə) *štrosak* > < Hung. d. *strózsák* ~ *strózak* ~ *truzsák* > < Pol. d. *sztuzók* > < Ukr. d. *стружляк* ~ *стружак* 'straw mattress'; Pol. d. *kulastra* ~ *kurastra* > < Rom. *curastră* ~ *colistră* ~ *coraslă* > < Germ. d. (tə) *kurastə* ~ *kulastrə* > < Hung. *kuraszáló* ~ *gulaszta* > < Ukr. d. *куластра* ~ *коластра* ~ *курастра*: 'beest'; Hung. *bíró* > < Germ. d. (tə) *birou* > < Pol. d. *biro(w)* > < Rum. d. *birău* ~ *bd'irău* > < Slk. *biro* ~ *birov* > < Ukr. d. *би́роу* ~ *би́ров* 'village mayor'; Hung. *költ-ség* > < Pol. d. *kelczik* > < Rum. *chelciug* ~ *chelșiug* > < Slk. d. *keľčig* ~ *keľčik* > < Ukr. d. *кельчиг* ~ *кельчих*: 'outlay, cost (of); travelling expenses'; Pol. *adzymka* ~ *hadzymka* > < Hung. d. *ad-zimka* > < Germ. d. (tə) *atsimkə* > < Rum. *adzimcă* > < Slk. d. *adzimaka* > < Ukr. d. *адзимка* 'sort of bread from unleavened dough'; Pol. *fickac* > < Hung. *fickál* > < Germ. d. *fitskaən* > < Rum. (a) *fiții* ~ *fății* > < Slk. d. *fickat* > < Ukr. d. *фуцкату* ~ *файкату* 'to strike with hind leg (esp. a horse)'; Germ. d. (tə) *štrimfəl* > < Hung. d. *strimfli* > < Pol. d. *szttrimfla* 'stocking'; Rum. *brindză* ~ *brinză* > < Hung. *brindza* ~ *brinza* ~ *borondza* > < Germ.d. (tə) *brinzə* > < Pol. *bryndza* > < Slk. *brindza* > < Ukr. *бринза* ~ *бриндза* 'brynza (sheep's milk cheese)'; Rum. *simbră* ~ *șimboră* > < Hung. *cimbora* ~ *simbora* > < Pol. *cymbora* > < Slk. *cimbora* ~ *cimbor* > < Ukr. d. *цумбора* 'crony, fellow, companion'; Slk. *tatarka* > < Germ. d. (tə) *tatarkə* > < Hung. *tatárka* > < Pol. d. *tatarka* > < Rum. *tatarcă* > < Ukr. *ма́марка*: 'buckwheat (*Fagopyrum tataricum*)'; Ukr. *бра́за* > < Germ. d. (tə) *brahə* > < Hung. d. *braha* > < Pol. *braha* > < Rum. *brahă* > < Slk. *bráha*: 'home-brewed beer'; Ukr. *зпечка* > < Germ. d. (tə) *hretška* ~ *haritška* > < Hung. d. *haricska* > < Pol. *greczka* > < Rum. *harișcă* ~ *haricică* > < Slk. *hrečka*: 'buckwheat (*Fagopyrum*

¹⁶ > < denotes the result of linguistic interference of multilateral language contacts; details see in reference 12.

esculentum; Polygonum fagopyrum)' OHG *marchat* > Hung. *marha* > < Rum. *marfă* ~ *marhă* > < Slk. *marha* > < Ukr. d. *марза*: 'cattle; goods'; Pol. *slóp* > Byelor. *слын* 'post, pillar'; Germ. (der) *Nagel* > Lett. *naġla*: 'nail'; Germ. (die) *Stunde* > Lett. *stunda*: 'hour; lesson'; Balt.—Finn. **laiva* > Lith. *laivas*: 'boat, ship'; Russ. *чеснок* > Lith. *česňakas*: 'garlic'; Fr. *mis en page* > E. *mis-en-page*: 'the design of a printed page'; Fr. *détente* > E. *détente*, Germ. *Détente*: 'easing of strained relations, esp. between states'; E. *hippie* ~ *hippy* > Russ. *хунни* 'unconventionally behaving person who is (thought to be) using hallucinogenic drugs and rebelling against organized society'; E. *know how* > Hung. *know-how*, Germ. *know-how*: 'technical expertness': E. *happening* > Russ. *хепенинг* 'occurrence, event; spontaneous performance' etc.

(b) lexical (direct, phonetical) penetrations: e.g. Russ. *спутник* > Germ. (der) *Sputnik*: 'sattelite; artificial body placed in orbit round the earth' (Germ. primary: *Sattelit, Trabant*); Fr. *métro* (from *métropolitaine*) > Russ. *метро*, Hung. *metró*: 'underground' (Hung. primary: *földalatti*); Russ. *город* > Udeg. *город*: 'town' (Udeg. primary: *хото*); Russ. *ученик* > Chuk. *ученик*: 'pupil, student' (Chuk. primary: *кэлтукльын*); E. *discrepancy* > Germ. (die) *Discrepancy*: 'difference; inconsistency' (Germ. primary: *Verschiedenheit*); Russ. *выборы* > Itelm. *выборы*: 'elections' (Itelm. primary: *энчелном*); Germ. (die) *Farbe* > Pol. *farba* > Ukr. *фарба* 'colour' (Ukr. primary: *колір*), etc.

(c) structural-semantic translation loan-words; e.g. Germ. *Eisenbahn* > Est. *raudtee*, Hung. *vasút*: 'railway'; Russ. *хлебное поле* > Osty. *нянь хар*: 'arable land'; Russ. *поточный метод* > Lett. *plūsmas metode*: 'line production'; Germ. *wirklich* > Hung. *tényleg*: 'really, indeed, truly'; Fr. *inspiration* > Russ. *вдохновение*: 'inspiration'; Lat. *titulus* > Hung. *címerlet*; Russ. *трудодень* > Lett. *iztrūdes diēna*, Lith. *darbadienis*: 'work-day (unit of work on collective farms)'; Russ. *самокритика* > Lith. *savikritika*: 'selfcriticism'; E. *financio-industrial complex* > Russ. *финансово-промышленный комплекс*; Russ. *идейное единство* > E. *ideological unity*; Russ. *социалистическое соревнование* > Slk. *socialistické súťaženie*, Germ. (der) *sozialistische Wettbewerb*, Hung. *szocialista verseny*: 'socialist competition'; E. *iron curtain* > Russ. *железный занавес*, Ukr. *залізний занавіс*, Hung. *vasfüggöny*; Russ. *космический корабль* > Germ. (der) *Raumschiff*, E. *spaceship*, Slk. *kozmičká loď*; E. *summit meeting* > Russ. *встреча верххх*, Hung. *csúcstalálkozó*; E. *cold war* > Russ. *холодная война*, Ukr. *холодна війна*, Swed. *kalltkrig*, Hung. *hidegháború*; Russ. *часть речи* > Komí-Perm. *серни тор*: 'part of speech': E. *molecular sieves* > Russ. *молекулярные сита*; Russ. *атомный ледокол* > E. *atom ice-breaker*; E. *the double helix* > Russ. *двойная спираль*; E. *hot*

wire > Russ. *горячий провод*, Hung. *forródrót*; Germ. *Wirtschaft* > Russ. *хозяйство* > Bur. *ажахы*; 'economy'; Russ. *лагерь мира* > Pol. *oboz pokoju*, Rum. *lagărul de pace*: 'camp of peace', etc.

(d) hybrid translation-loans; e.g. Slk. *lípa* > Hung. *lipafa*: 'lime-tree'; Russ. *партизанская война* > Swed. *partisanakrig*: 'partisan war'; Russ. *частная собственность* > Yak. *чачынай бас билии*: 'private property'; Germ. *sozialistischer Aufbau* > Finn. *socialistinen rakennustyö*: 'socialist construction'; Russ. *какой-токой* > Ket. *акыс'-такыс*: 'which, what a kind of', etc.

(e) semantic translation-loans; e.g. Russ. *производительность труда* > Voty. *ужазинлык*; 'productivity of labour'; E. *alternative* > Rum. *alternativă*, Russ. *альтернатива*, Germ. *(die) Alternative*, Hung. *alternatíva*, Chuk. *альтернатива*; Udeg. *альтернатива*: 'one choice, opposite to the given'; Russ. *заготовка* > Lith. *parnoša*: 'state purchases'; Russ. *водник* > Yak. *унут*: 'water transport worker'; Russ. *делегат* > Chuk. *льое*: 'delegate, deputy', etc.

In the case of structural-semantic translation loan-words, semantic translation loan-words, and partly hybrid translation loan-words the linguistic interference of the languages in contact goes on "discreetly", as the internal forms of the prototype lexical unit piercing unvisibly through the sound envelope (capsule) of the external form of the lexical unit of the receptor-language act directly on its internal form and take part in the semantic changes of its monosemes.

As the semantic interference takes place here "discreetly", it is rather difficult to draw a sharp borderline between those semantic changes which were called into life in the languages under study by the linguistic interference of language contacts, and those which are the result of their spontaneous development (inherent variability). But as the receptor-language adopts and assimilates only those elements of linguistic interference which, having accommodated themselves to its communicative demands, do not oppose the expediency of its linguistic development, the former are dependent on the latter.

Thus to be able to state that a semantic change of a lexical unit goes back to linguistic interference we had to obtain extralinguistic proofs of it, particularly in the domain of absolute chronology, history, culture, psychology, etc.

A detailed analysis of the mentioned corpus of linguistic material has shown that 865 lexical units of the languages under study have in the years 1920–1975 changed their internal forms, i.e. their monosemes, in the same way. The bundles of isoglotic lines denoting these common or resembling semantic changes are of three types: (a) macroisoglosses covering 20 to 32 languages of the area; (b) macroisoglosses, with one or two zones of attenua-

tion, covering 10 to 19 languages of the area ; (c) macroisoglosses, with 3 to 4 zones of attenuation, covering 5 to 9 languages of the area.

From these, for 512 lexical units comprising different lexical-semantic microstructures, in particular those which make up political, socioeconomical¹ cultural terms, and include macroisoglosses of all three types, we have received extralinguistic proofs that it was the linguistic interference of language contacts which contributed to these semantic changes.

The macroisoglosses of the semantic changes of these 512 lexical units had their nuclei (epicentres) in almost all the languages under consideration, though prevailing are here English and Russian. Linguistic attraction often backed by multilateral language contacts favoured their gradual spreading over the vast territory of the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area. And there were the subordinative and coordinative types of bilingualism and polylingualism which are bound with systems of the psycho-physiological communicative apparatus having their correlation of "A", "B" ("C", "D") languages as 1 : 0.4 (1 : 0.4 : 0.4 . . .) 1 : 0.6 (1 : 0.6 : 0.6 . . .) ; 1 : 0.8 (1 : 0.8 : 0.8 . . .)¹⁷ which were in the fruitful soil of the nuclei (epicentres) of the isoglosses these semantic changes sprang out from.

The semantic interference which promoted the semantic changes of the lexical units in the languages under examination is connected with the phenomena of loan translation.

There exists a rather deeply rooted opinion according to which loan translations (calques ; semantic translations ; translation loans) have become current only in modern times, i.e. in the age of intensive economic, political, and cultural relations that have enabled the growth of non-marginal language contacts mainly with the help of translations in the different genres of literature. According to many scholars, the origin of lexical calques lies in the fact that the translators, since the time of the formation of national languages, trying to save their mother tongue from the intrusion of foreign lexical elements, i.e. for the sake of "purism", have preferred loan translations to lexical (direct, phonetical) loan-words. This is only part of the truth. And the whole story was made up in order to justify the reasons why linguists have turned only in our days to such an important problem as loan translation, which, no doubt, appears as old as language contacts. The late interest in lexical calques can also be proved by the fact that the linguistic terms : E. *loan translations* (*lexical calques*, *semantic translations*, *translation loans*) ; Fr. *calque* ; G. *Übersetzungslehnwort* ; Sp. *calco* ; Russ. *калька* ; Hung. *tükörszó*, etc. have appeared quite recently. And until not very long ago this linguistic problem was pushed into the outskirts of linguistics. There are only some generalities written about it in the works dealing with word-formation, and the principles of ade-

¹⁷ See details in reference 12.

quate translation, and even less in works dealing with etymology or language contacts.

Even the noble intention of Ch. Bally to put an end to the discrimination of calques and on the basis of their study in European languages to draw conclusions concerning European "mentalité" remained unrealized. He wrote only a small paper on the question of formation of lexical calques.

However, Ch. Bally was perhaps the first who tried to define the term "calque" introduced at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and theoretically to interpret what the "formation of calques" means. He wrote "... the word calque means an exact and mechanical reproduction of a certain image done artificially in a bookish way".¹⁸ And although, we can see, the Swiss linguist excluded from loan translation the so-called "folk-calques" and the word "mechanical" in his definition is jarring the ear, in fact he formulated properly the essence of this linguistic phenomenon. Ch. Bally called the linguists to pay more attention to calques. This call was caught by K. Jensen-Sandfeld — the eminent investigator of language contacts, and the so-called Balkan language-union (Sprachbund) in particular. He planned a great research in the field of calques. But he, too, managed to publish only a small paper devoted to the problems of semantic calques.¹⁹

The problem of loan translation from the viewpoint of general linguistics and typology were discussed by the well-known slavist B. O. Unbegaun. He attempted to investigate the dependence of loan translation on the type of language contact. But neglecting the difference between marginal and non-marginal language contacts and between different types of bilingualism, he came to the strange conclusion that the process of loan translating requires the presence of group bilingualism in the country.²⁰ Such a conclusion contradicts the facts of languages functioning in the linguistic area under consideration where quite a number of lexical calques were made due to non-marginal contacts and the absence of group bilingualism; e.g. Hung. *tömegkommunikációs eszközök* < E. *mass media*. Consequently they are the result of individual bilingualism on the part of the authors of lexical calques. But B. O. Unbegaun is right when he emphasizes the existence of: (a) folk-calques; (b) calques of bookish origin.

Indeed, the birth of folk-calques requires that in the process of marginal and interregional or multilateral permanent language contacts types of subordinate and coordinate bilingualism should develop, if even only along the borderlines of the language areas in contact. But for the formation of the so-called bookish loan translations individual bilingualism, subordinate or coordinate, is perfectly enough.

¹⁸ Ch. Bally, *Traité de stylistique française*. Heidelberg 1921, 49.

¹⁹ K. J. Sandfeld, *Notes sur les calques linguistiques*. In: *Festschrift für Wilhelm Thompson*, Leipzig 1912.

²⁰ See: B. O. Unbegaun, *Les calques dans les langues slaves littéraires*. In: "Revue des études slaves", 1932, XII., 19—48.

Certain questions of loan translation were successfully investigated by J. Vendryes, E. Sapir, P. Papahagi.

Significantly more attention has been given to loan translation by the investigators of the German language, especially I. Campe, E. Engel, F. Mauthner, S. Singer, W. Betz and the researchers of Hungarian, such as F. Kazinczy, D. Barczafalvi Szabó, P. Bugát, F. Kölcsey. And that is easily understood. Purism as a European trend reached its height in 19th century Germany and then in Hungary. The fight against lexical (direct, phonetical) loan-words and penetrations, the tendency to replace them artificially by lexical calques ("Verdeutschung"), respectively by neologisms ("nyelvújítás") required a close study of the problems of loan translation. No doubt, the German and the Hungarian languages even without the activity of their "purists" and "neologists" are inclined to adopt the linguistic interference on the lexical level rather in the form of loan translations than lexical loan-words and penetrations.

Unfortunately these mainly practical efforts of the German and Hungarian "purists" and "neologists" in the field of loan translations were not followed by a thorough study of the linguistic problems of calques. And only nowadays serious contributions to the study of these problems were made by A. Y. Matveyev, L. Kiss, E. Martins, L. A. Ponomarenko, M. A. Khegal, J. Juhász and others.

Linguistic interference in the case of lexical calques is first of all a semantic interference.

The structural semantic translation loan-words of the languages under study comprise various lexical-semantic micro-structures, but first of all socio-economical and scientific terms.

While thoroughly analyzing the corpus of the excerpted linguistic material we attempt to find out : (a) what the "mechanism" of rendering the structural-semantic characteristics of the source-language lexical prototypes into the receptor-language is ; (b) how does loan translation ensure a supreme fidelity of the lexical calque to the original ; (c) what degree of lexical and semantic assimilation have the loan translations in the receptor-languages achieved ; (d) how did the semantic interference of the loan translations under examination contribute to isosemantism in the languages of the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area.

Our investigations have shown that directing the linguistic interference into the channel of structural semantic loan translation the receptor-language does its best "to grasp" the structural-semantic innovation of the source-language lexical unit and to dress it into new "native clothes". These, though "tailored" in accordance with the demands of the source-language, are adjusted to "the figure" of the receptor-language. It means that while transplanting the lexical unit of the source-language, dressing its monosemes in morphemes, the receptor-language has to fulfil both the quest of the prototype for its ade-

quate rendering and the demands of its own structural-typological traditions. And there is a rather fierce fight between these claims of the "foreign" innovation and the "home" tradition ending with a compromise in which almost always the main demands of the receptor-language are taken into account.

This compromise has to ensure a supreme fidelity to the original, an authenticity with which a translation loan-word conveys the structural-semantic properties of the prototype. The degree of similitude of the internal form of the translation loanword to its prototype cannot be determined mechanically, without due regard for the fact that transplantation of a lexical unit into a foreign soil should be accompanied by an increment of information units as elements of description, incorporated into the nomination; e.g. E. *mass media* > Slk. *masové komunikačné prostredky*.

These elements of description alongside of other deviations from morpheme-for-morpheme translation of all peculiarities of the pattern the prototype possesses which are determined by the divergences in the structure of the languages in contact (Cf., for example: Germ. *Privateigentum* > Russ. *частная собственность* > Yak. *чашыная бас билии*) impair the efficacy of semantical interference.

However, the presence of common structural-typological features between the languages under study paves the way for the creation of common patterns for structural-semantic modelling; e.g. *sky-scraper* >: Fr. *gratte-ciel*; Russ. *небоскреж*; Lett. *debesskrapis*, etc., on the one hand, and Germ. *Wolkenkratzer*; Hung. *felhőkarcoló*, Ukr. *хмарочос*, on the other hand.

We have examined in great detail the patterns of structural-semantic loan-words which in the languages under study comprise from 29 to 41% of all excerpted loan translations. A functional analysis of statistical probability discloses certain regularities of conformity between the prototype and the structural-semantic loan-translation. Among them the two-component lexical units are predominant (from 41 to 52%), the three-component units are less in number (from 29 to 36%), whilst the four-component units are few (from 12 to 17%). Our observations have made it manifest that the dependence between the quantity of components within a structural-semantic translation loan-word and its frequency of occurrence in a communicative function in the languages of the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area can be expressed by the formula:

$$L_{cp} = \sum_{i=1}^n L_i P_i$$

where L_{cp} = the length of the prototype and its structural-semantic translation loan-word with the index 1, P_i = their hypothetical occurrence in the communicative function of the examined languages.²¹

²¹ Details on applying this formula see in reference 24.

The lexical and semantic accomodation, adaptation and assimilation of the structural-semantic translation loan-words under our consideration have taken place in the main in the very process of modelling them after the interfering patterns. It was due to this fact that the relatively high linguistic assimilation became possible ($Q \leq 0.01 - 0.06$).

Peculiar is the semantic interference of hybrid translation loan-words (semi-translation loan-words) which in the languages under examination make up lexical-semantic microstructures of political, socio-economic, cultural and every-day life terms and comprise 16 to 23 % of all excerpted loan translations. The issue of this type of loan translation has been the subject of heated disputes in the linguistic literature. On the whole, those scholars appear to be in the right who, like for instance, L. A. Ponomarenko, suggest that a differentiated approach should be taken in the analysis of this language phenomenon and maintain that "many of the forms which are generally considered to be hybrid translation loan-words are essentially nothing else but full structural-semantic translation loan-words".²²

In the languages under study the components of the hybrid translation loan-words going back to multilateral language contacts comprise an "untranslated" and a "translated" unit; e.g. G. *Klassenkampf* > Ukr. *класова боротьба*: 'class struggle'; Fr. *point de vue* > Hung. *szempont*: 'point of view'; Russ. *зимние каникулы* > Gil. *т'улф каникулы*: 'winter vacation'; Russ. *чайная чашка* > Chuk. *чайкойнын*: 'tea-cup', etc.

In the hybrid translation loan-words examined the "untranslated" unit consists in the main of a "primordial" morpheme (word) or a lexical (direct, phonetical) borrowing, and penetration proper with diverse degree of the linguistic assimilation ($Q \leq 0.01 - 0.04$).²³ The "untranslated" part of the hybrid translation loan-word accounts for the levelling of semantic interference and the strengthening of isosemantism.

The process of semantic interference in the languages under consideration is the most incontinent and efficient in the semantic translation loan-words. But as the semantic interference in this type of loan translation is the most "discreet" one it is a very difficult task to separate its results from those semantic changes which developed spontaneously. And this is the reason that in spite of many efforts we could get extralinguistic proves and thus include in the corpus of excerpts probably only a small part of the semantic loan-translations which came into life in the languages of the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area during the last decades. However, this type of linguistic interference constituting various lexical-semantic microstructures where polit-

²² Л. А. Пономаренко, *Калькирование как вид влияния одного языка на другой (на материале английских калек с русского языка)*. Киев 1965, 6.

²³ Q denotes the deviations from a native prototype's linguistic features. See details in reference 24.

ical, socio-economic, scientific, technical and every-day life terms are prevalent, comprises 34 to 41% of all excerpted loan translation; e.g. Rum. *alternativă*: 'choosing one of the two possible solutions' → 'a version (outcome) as opposed to another version (outcome) and many others' < E. *alternative* 'liberty to choose between two things; either of two possibilities' → 'a version (outcome) as opposed to another version (outcome) and many others'; Bur. *булан* 'corner' → 'angel (in mathematics)' < Russ. *угол* 'corner' → 'angel (in mathematics)'; Even. *пуккы* 'linen' → 'towel' < Russ. *полотно* 'linen' → *полотенце* 'towel'; Finn. *neuvosto* 'advice' → 'Soviet' < Russ. *совет* 'advice' → 'Soviet'; Chuk. *jamjon* 'fox' → 'sly' < Russ. *лиса* 'fox' → 'sly'; Yak. *келехунн* 'sweat' *келехуннэчи* 'exploiter' < Russ. *пот* 'sweat' → *помогонщик* 'exploiter'; Koryak *иччет* 'group of men' → 'detachment' → 'brigade team of workers or peasants' < Russ. *бригада* (< Pol. *brigada* < Germ. *Brigade* < Fr. *brigade*) 'subdivision of army; detachment' → 'organized team of workers or peasants', etc.

We made an attempt at finding out the "mechanism" of action of the semantic interference. Our observations made it clear that the new meanings which emerged in the internal forms of the lexical units had taken root under a direct "pressure" of the monosemes of the confronted and identified counterpart in the source-language. This "pressure" comes to pass when the confronted and identified lexical units are situated on the syntagmatical axis, i.e. are functioning, whilst the semantic multipliers have "jostled" the hierarchy of the monosemes in such a manner that the internal form's pattern of the recipient lexical unit pushes the yet-free semantic "cells" to the forefront displaying a proclivity for absorbing foreign monosemes. In point of fact, the semantic interference comes to pass more efficiently when a bilingual person confronts and identifies the lexical units in the source-language and the receptor-language the internal forms of which are figurative, i.e. have merged as a result of metaphorical transfer. The semantic interference takes place less efficiently when confronting lexical units with a constructional internal form, i.e. when it comes to pass through derivation.

In the languages under consideration the counterpart lexical units produced a stabilisation of new meanings, devolvement of polysemy, and at times, homonymy. It depended on how far the new meanings of the loan translations are situated from the kernel meanings of the original lexical units. Proceeding from the ancient semantic structure of the counterpart lexical unit which may be termed "semantic conglomerate", it is observed that under semantic interference the original unity of opposites in the meaning of loan translations, becoming richer and more complex in concrete instances of usage, is transformed into a differentiated system of distinctly identifiable meanings. The nature of the distribution of the monosemes of the loan translations which emerged as a result of different types of language contacts, especially the multilateral ones,

their semantic fields are determined by the so-called law of commutation. Various units on the plane of content correspond to definite units on the plane of expression. The new meaning of the loan translation is determined not only by the semantic interference of the counterpart lexical unit but also by the relationships existing within the given semantic field of the source-language.

It is noteworthy that the same types of semantic changes are observed in the receptor-language as prevail in the source language. However, the recipient language undergoes these semantic shifts considerably faster.

Our investigations have shown that the semantic interference of the structural-semantic, hybrid (semi-translational) and semantic translation loan-words that have emerged during the last decades as a result of different types of language contacts, especially the multilateral ones, taking place in the Indo-European, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Mongolic, Tungusic-Manchurian and Palaeo-Asian languages which function in the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area contributed and continues to contribute to the decrease of quantity of their lexical units deprived of semantic equivalency and to the increase of the quantity of the interlingual relative synonyms. The function of the interlingual relative synonyms is fulfilled by the lexical units of the given linguistic area coinciding fully or partially in meaning and usage; Cf. E. *to touch*, Germ. *rühren*, Fr. *toucher*, Swed. *röra*, Dan. *røre*, Finn. *koskettaa* ~ *koskea*, Hung. *érint*, Russ. *mpozamb*, etc.: 'act of contacting' → 'to affect with tender feeling, sympathy, soften'. The interlingual relative synonyms which have emerged in the languages under study as a result of semantic interference convincingly prove the increased role of the synonymy of this type in the process of the word stock development. However, they did in no way remove the interlingual paronymy of the languages under consideration.

Linguistically, interlingual paronymy resembles the "wrong" association with both the internal and the external forms of the lexical unit and, hence, constitutes a "reshaping" as a result of folk-etymology. By bringing together two lexical units, ascending at times to a common genetical or primary historical source, which have, however, acquired in the course of their function in different languages of our linguistic area various meanings, bilinguals make "wrong" associations. The internal form of a lexical unit of language "A" ("C") is associated with the identical in many respects external form of a lexical unit of language "B" ("D"); cf. E. *speculation* 'meditation on, inquiry into, theory or conjecture about a subject; speculative (involving risk of loss) investment or enterprise in business'; Chuk. *спекуляция* (< Russ. *спекуляция*) only: 'profiteering, jobbery'; E. *tax* 'contribution levied on or on persons, property, or business, for support of national or local government'; Komi-Zyr. *такса* (< Russ. *такса*) 'statutory price; tariff', etc.

The interlingual paronyms in languages under study are generally one-sided, i.e. delude the bearers of either of the languages. However, they also be

reciprocal, bilateral and multilateral, especially when they are supported by an internal paronymy.

The linguistic paronymy requires close inspection of translators and lexicographers.

It should be mentioned that interlingual paronymy could in the languages under consideration only in a very slight way hinder the main process of their interlingual synonymy, the increase of their isosemantism.

Though questions of isosemantism stirred already W. Leibniz, the fore-runners of the comparative historical linguistics, as J. E. Fischer, S. Gyarmathi and others, it was not until the beginning of the 20th century that linguists tried to put it on a firm basis of linguistics, logic and psychology, to find out what the general regularities in semantic changes of lexical units were alike. The linguistic material examined by A. Meillet, Zs. Simonyi, A. Makayev and others helped to see that the phenomena of isosemantism arisen spontaneously represent in the languages under study areal linguistic universals of structural-typological character. They go back to phenomena of logical and psychological character which contributed to the formation of "common mentalité", designs the main trajectory of the monosemes "drift", ensures that the vital and often vigorous metaphorical monosemes, and then the metonymical, synecdochical, extensional and restrictional ones would move regularly from the concrete to the abstract. Our analysis has proved the correctness of the theory of "isosemantic rows" laid down by S. S. Meisel and developed by V. Starynin.²⁴

We have tried to break through the incrustations of the theory of "isosemantic rows" and to reveal the concrete methodological approach it implies. With its help we could see the difference between the primary "isosemantic rows" attested for phenomena of structural-typological character, and hence developed in the languages under examination "independently"; and the secondary "isosemantic rows" arisen from semantic interference of different types and subtypes of language contacts, especially the multilateral ones (Cf. the primary "isosemantic rows": Germ. *absehen auf etwas* 'to look at something' → 'Absicht' 'intention, wish' — Ugric **āṇkz-* (Vogul *āñkwēti* ~ *añgurmāti*, Ostyak *ō'nk'örtä* ~ *ṗṇgörtä*) 'to look at' → Hung. *akar* 'to want, to wish' (cf. Lat. *spectare* 'to look at' → 'to aspire, aim at, endeavour'; E. *to grasp*, Germ. *ergreifen*, *begreifen*, Fr. *comprendre*, Russ. *поймать* → *понимать*, Hung. *felfog*, etc.: 'to catch → to understand'; secondary 'isosemantic rows': Ukr. *ceim*; Pol. *swiat*; Slk. *svět*; Rum. *lumea*; Hung. *világ* 'light → world'; Germ. *Blatt*, Hung. *levél*, Ukr. *лист*, Slk. *list* 'leaf of a tree' → 'leaf of a paper' → 'letter'), etc. The secondary "isosemantic rows" contributed at large to the increase of isosemantism within the linguistic area under consideration and behind its borders.

²⁴ See details in: A. M. Пот, Венгерско-восточнославянские языковые контакты. Будапешт 1973, 13—158.

Our investigations have shown that semantic interference and isosemantism participate in the development of those linguistic innovations Indo-European, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Mongolic, Manchuro-Tungusic and Palaeo-Asian languages functioning in the Northern part of the Euro-Asian linguistic area manifest. The macroisoglosses of these linguistic innovations testify several features of language union (Sprachbund).

List of Abbreviations :

Alt.	= Altaic ;
Avest.	= Avestic ;
Arm.	= Armenian ;
Byelor.	= Byelorussian ;
Bur.	= Buryat ;
Chuk.	= Chukchee ;
d.	= dialectal ;
Dan.	= Danish ;
Du.	= Dutch ;
Even.	= Evenec ;
Est.	= Estonian ;
Fr.	= French ;
Finn.	= Finnish ;
Germ.	= German ;
Gil.	= Gilyak ;
Grk.	= Greek ;
Hung.	= Hungarian ;
Icel.	= Icelandic ;
Itel.	= Itelmen ;
Ket.	= Ketish ;
Komi-Zyr.	= Komi-Zyrian ;
Komi-Perm.	= Komi-Permyak ;
Lat.	= Latin ;
Lett.	= Lettish ;
Lith.	= Lithuanian ;
Manch.	= Manchurian ;
Moksha-Mord.	= Moksha-Mordovian ;
Mong.	= Mongolian ;
Norw.	= Norwegian ;
OE.	= Old English ;
Ost.	= Ostyak ;
Pers.	= Persian ;
PFU	= Proto-Finno-Ugric ;
Pol.	= Polish ;

Pruss.	= Prussian ;
PIE	= Proto-Indo-European ;
Rum.	= Rumanian ;
Russ.	= Russian ;
Slk.	= Slovak ;
Swed.	= Swedish ;
Tokh.	= Tokhar ;
Uig.	= Uigurian ;
Udeg.	= Udegeian ;
Ukr.	= Ukrainian ;
Vog.	= Vogul ;
Voty.	= Votyak ;
Yak.	= Yakutian.

A COMPROMISE APPROACH TO PHRASAL CONJOINING IN ENGLISH¹

By

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0. In this paper we examine some differing approaches (within transformational grammar) to the generation of phrasally-conjoined structures. Our conclusion is quite simply that neither a reduction approach nor a phrase structure rule approach provides completely the right answer and that the pragmatic choice of a compromise between these two extremes enables us to formulate a theory which lends credence to Ross' rule of tree-pruning; it also enables us to make some tentative remarks on the subject of the distinction between the speaker's grammar and that used by the hearer.

1.1. Hitherto, transformational studies of conjoined structures in English and other languages² have tended to fall into two main categories. There are those that employ the principle of conjunction reduction — such as Chomsky 1957 and Gleitman 1965; and those, represented by the work of R. C. Dougherty, which espouse the phrasal approach.

Each of these two approaches represents an extreme view of the generation of conjoined structures. As with many extreme approaches to a topic, the most suitable approach is often a compromise between these extremes. However, in this particular area of syntax, compromise has usually amounted to no more than a case of bending the rules to account for the exceptions. Such compromise is of course extremely *ad hoc*. Any compromise should account for exceptions from the start, and not merely as they arise.

In this paper, the validity of *both* the extreme approaches referred to above is recognized. We accept, that is, that for certain classes of structure a reduction approach is most appropriate, while a phrasal approach is more appropriate for others. Where a choice has to be made, reasons have been given in the past, but these have been based on semantic criteria. Here we intend to show that there can be an adequate *structural* basis for any such choice.

¹ This paper was first read in a somewhat different form at Monash University, 30th March 1976.

² Much of what will be said in this paper is equally true of many other languages. The data has, however, been restricted to English for the sake of brevity.

Furthermore, there are actually cases where both approaches are valid and we tentatively suggest ways in which this fact can be accounted for. Our conclusions on this point also account for linguistic facts elsewhere in syntax, with implications in particular for the generation of complex sentences in general and their simplex equivalents.

1.2. A Brief History of Reduction

Since conjunction reduction was one of the earliest transformational types to be dealt with in the literature, anything more than a brief resume of its history is redundant. But the following from Chomsky 1957 is still an adequate statement of the process involved.

- (1) "If S_1 and S_2 are grammatical sentences and S_1 differs from S_2 only in that X appears in S_1 where Y appears in S_2 and X and Y are constituents of the same type in S_1 and S_2 respectively, then S_3 is a sentence where S_3 is the result of replacing X by X -and- Y in S_1 ." (Chomsky 1957 : 36).

This principle allows for the generation of sentences such as (2) and (3) from the deep structures also underlying (4) and (5).³

- (2) *Max cleans and polishes sportscars.*
 (3) *David and Jonathan enjoy fighting battles.*
 (4) *Max cleans sportscars and Max polishes sportscars.*
 (5) *David enjoys fighting battles and Jonathan enjoys fighting battles.*

Later work in this area tended to merely clarify minor points rather than drastically alter the principle. Gleitman 1965, for instance, discusses conditions on co-reference, so that (6) can be related to (7) but not to (8).

- (6) *Hildegard loves roses and all other fragrant things.*
 (7) *Hildegard_j loves roses and Hildegard_j loves all other fragrant things.*
 (8) *Hildegard_x loves roses and Hildegard_y loves all other fragrant things.*

By means of (1), we can, then, generate examples of surface phrasal conjoining where major constituents are deleted in the process. (9) to (12) represent the results of Subject NP, Object NP, Verb and VP reduction respectively.

³ From this point in the paper, the convention will be used of stating that sentence X is derived from sentence Y as a shorthand device for "sentence X is derived from the same underlying structure as that which also underlies sentence Y ".

- (9) *Matthew ate his baby food and played with his rattle.*
- (10) *Jim cleaned and Mary polished the car.*
- (11) *Jim and Mary cleaned the car and the nappies.*
- (12) *Jim and Mary washed the dishes.*

Of course, minor constituents can also be treated in this way; besides cases of adverb reduction such as (13) (from (14)), we also get examples such as (15) (from (16)), involving the deletion of a preposition.

- (13) *Matthew and Bernadette clean the car and polish the brasses very professionally.*
- (14) *Matthew cleans the car very professionally and Bernadette polishes the brasses very professionally.⁴*
- (15) *Dan poured melted cheese over his toast and his paper napkin.*
- (16) *Dan poured melted cheese over his toast and (over) his paper napkin.*

Orthodox reduction is, then, intended to generate surface structures containing phrasally-conjoined constituents from underlying structures with sententially-conjoined constituents.

1.3. Dougherty's Phrasal Approach

In terms of Dougherty's Phrase Structure Rule (PSR) Hypothesis, sentences such as (17) and (18) will be semantically but *not* structurally related to (19) and (20).

- (17) *Alf and Alphonse gobbled krunchie-pops for breakfast.*
- (18) *The leopard-seal and the skua are very fond of penguins.*
- (19) *Alf gobbled krunchie-pops for breakfast and Alphonse gobbled krunchie-pops for breakfast.*
- (20) *The leopard-seal is very fond of penguins and the skua is very fond of penguins.*

The conjoined NPs in (17) and (18) could be derived by reduction from (19) and (20), but they can more straightforwardly be generated directly in the base with a rule such as (21).

- (21) $NP \rightarrow NP^n$

⁴ (14) does, of course, have another reading — where Matthew and Bernadette each perform both of the actions. The reading intended here is that associated with "respectively". Although respectively constructions are important within the study of conjunction reduction, a discussion of them would complicate this paper unnecessarily.

Similarly, Dougherty derives examples such as (22) and (23) from an underlying structure involving (26), rather than from (24) and (25) by reduction.

(22) *The koala cub and the kangaroo calmly ignored the gaping tourists.*

(23) *The knave of hearts and Alice were terrified by the queen.*

(24) *The koala cub calmly ignored the gaping tourists and the kangaroo calmly ignored the gaping tourists.*

(25) *The knave of hearts was terrified by the queen and Alice was terrified by the queen.*

(26) $VP \rightarrow VP^n$.

Dougherty's approach has the advantage of deep structures that are much more closely related to their surface structures than has been the tendency since the mid-sixties.

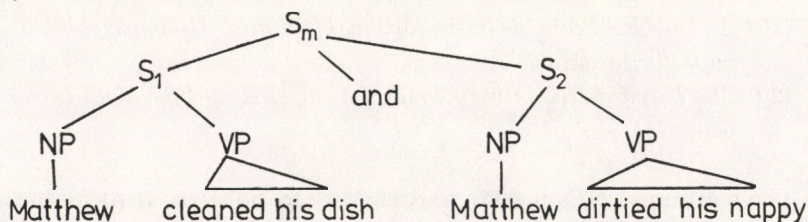
1.4. The Two Approaches Compared

Comparing the two approaches, we see then that (28) and (29) are two alternative deep structures for (27).

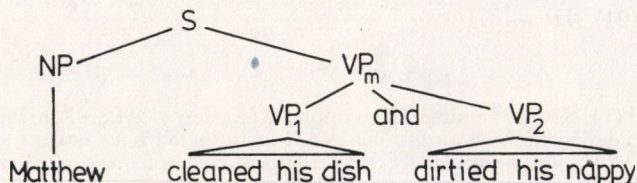
(27) *Matthew cleaned his dish and dirtied his nappy.*

Each principle has been seen by its proponents as adequately accounting for the data, and in the case of (27) both do account for the data. Given the need to generate only structures of this type the choice between one approach and the other would be quite arbitrary.

(28)



(29)



But there are examples where only a great deal of shoe-horning will fit them into a particular approach. Yet still the attempt is made, in order to preserve the integrity of the approach used. In this regard, Dougherty's approach is perhaps the more guilty party.

1.5. Criticism of Dougherty's Approach

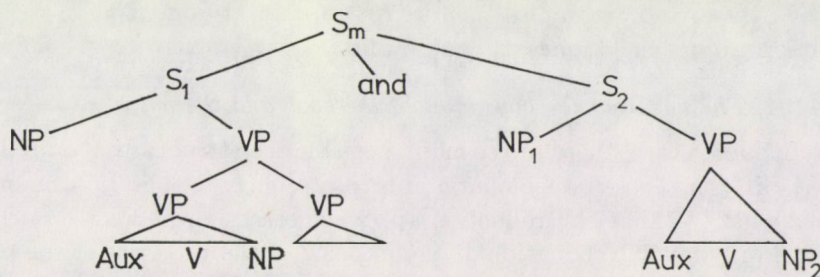
Dougherty 1970 is particularly uncompromising in his solution to the problem of how one derives sentences such as (30), where the conjoined VPs are in different voices.

(30) *Harold shoots Ted and is applauded by Jeremy.*

He acknowledges that, when the VPs involved are in different voices, the derivation is not quite so straightforward as in examples such as (27) which *can* use a rule like (26). The reduction approach to (30) involves passivizing S_2 before any deletion takes place. Alternatively, passives can be generated directly in the base. Although this latter method allows a straightforward PS derivation, the loss of the transformational active-passive relationship is a great price to pay.

Dougherty does in a sense compromise, by using abstract underlying structures which represent deep-structure sentence conjoining in name only. Hence the derivation represented by the trees in (31) to (33).

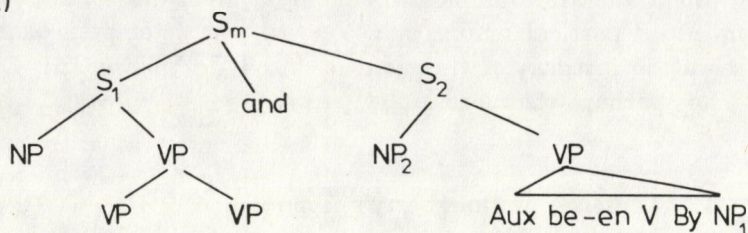
(31)



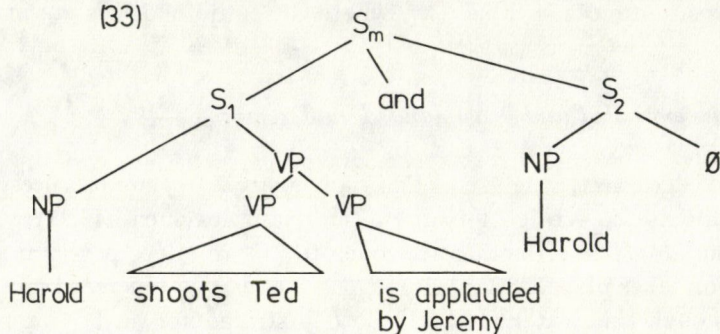
Thus, (32) represents the intermediate structure after application of passivization to (31); and (33) is the result of applying the Conjunction Substitution transformation to (32). This rule has the effect of moving the abstract VP into the position kept open for it by the dummy node in S_1 .

The pretence is transparent. It is merely disguised conjunction reduction. Furthermore, what is to be done with the unwanted *Harold* node left in the abstract S_2 ?

(32)



(33)



Even if we accept Dougherty's treatment of an example like this, there seems to be little to be gained from going to such lengths to maintain the PSR Hypothesis intact.

1.6. Criticism of Conjunction Reduction

On the other hand, examples such as (34) are an argument against a wholly reduction approach to phrasal conjoining.

(34) *The men and the boys brought the book and the maps.*

In such a case, there are so many possible deep structures required to cover the different possible semantic interpretations — that is, who precisely carried what? — that the reduction approach ceases to be viable. Such examples can only involve reduction at the expense of the integrity of the principle stated in Chomsky 1964, in connection with the interpretation of agentless passives:

"An elliptical sentence is not simply one that is subject to alternative interpretations. But if it is true that the interpretation of a sentence is determined by the structural descriptions that underly it (as proposed in the theory of transformational grammar), then the degree of ambiguity of a sentence should correlate with the number of different systems of structural description underlying it." (Chomsky 1964: 74).

In examples such as (34), ambiguity gives way to mere indefiniteness. It will be shown later how V-deletion can be given a role within conjunction reduction but without governing the derivation of examples such as this.

1.7. Criticism of [a] a Compromise Approach as expounded by Lakoff and Peters 1969

The compromise between conjunction reduction and phrasal conjoining favoured by Lakoff and Peters is a semantically-based compromise. (35) and (36) can be transformationally related to either (37) and (38), or (39) and (40) — depending on the actual historical facts referred to.

- (35) *The brontosaurus and Tyrannosaurus Rex became extinct.*
- (36) *The leopard seal and the killer whale swam after the penguin.*
- (37) *The brontosaurus and Tyrannosaurus Rex became extinct together.*
- (38) *The leopard seal and the killer whale swam after the penguin together.*
- (39) *Both the brontosaurus and then Tyrannosaurus Rex became extinct.*
- (40) *Both the leopard seal and then the killer whale swam after the penguin.*

If such an approach had any merit at all, then the use of examples such as (41) surely detracts from it.

- (41) *Shakespeare and Wilde wrote plays.*

Is encyclopaedic knowledge really the *sine qua non* of determining whether reduction is or is not involved?

2.1. At the beginning of this paper I made it clear that we were going to have to find some compromise approach to all examples of phrasal conjoining. In the following discussion, the argument for the compromise adopted is a structural argument, not a semantic one (as forms the basis of the Lakoff and Peters approach). There are, indeed, structural ground for using one approach rather than the other in specific structural types and in section 2.3 each of the four main types of surface phrasal conjoining are examined.

However, before this it is necessary to turn to another discussion which began in 1971 with Jackendoff's study of gapping.

2.2. The relationship between gapping and conjunction reduction

In Jackendoff 1971 it was suggested that gapping and conjunction reduction were quite distinct operations. That is, the rule deriving (42) from (43) is not the rule deriving the sentences we have examined so far from their fuller equivalents.

- (42) *The cockroach landed in his cornflakes and the lizard's tail in his beer.*
 (43) *The cockroach landed in his cornflakes and the lizard's tail landed in his beer.*

As Jackendoff puts it: "(gapping) differs from the rule of conjunction reduction in that the latter deletes material only from the ends of conjoined clauses, not from the middle..." (Jackendoff 1971: 21). "... gapping cannot be simply formulated as deletion of a variable, as Ross hoped. Rather the rule seems to require an unlike constituent somewhere in the VP." (25).

Koutsoudas argues forcibly, however, that although they do not appear to be the same process they quite clearly are:

"It will be argued here that an adequate account of co-ordination reduction requires that Ross's two rules be collapsed into one single rule, which I refer to as the Co-ordinate Deletion rule. Specifically, it will be argued that gapping and conjunction reduction must be collapsed into one rule: (1) on factual grounds, because otherwise the fact that objects and verbs are either both reducible or else both non-reducible in any given language cannot be accounted for; and (2) on formal grounds, because they are rules that perform exactly the same operations and meet exactly the same conditions, i.e. both delete identical elements, both of their deletions obey the same directionality relation, both are last-cyclic (or post-cyclic if the distinction between last- and post-cyclic rules is maintained in a grammar), both occur at approximately the same place among the sequence of syntactic rules in a grammar, and finally, because there is no rule which must be ordered so as to apply after one type of reduction but before the other." (Koutsoudas 1971: 337-8).

If one accepts the view of Koutsoudas expressed here, then what of Jackendoff's argument that the parts of the sentence affected in gapping are different from those affected by conjunction reduction?

Consider a rule such as reflexivization. If this rule were to apply in the derivation of two different structures such that in one it affected the end of the clause, and in the other elements in mid-clause position, would this mean that we were dealing with two quite different species of reflexivization? That is, is a different rule used for reflexivization in (44) from that used in (45)?

- (44) *John shot himself.*
 (45) *John shot himself with a shotgun.*

Jackendoff's other criterion (concerning unlike constituents in the VP) is not specific enough. What typifies gapping examples is not only an unlike constituent in the VP, but also an unlike subject NP. Gapping may be defined as an identity-deletion transformation which removes the verb (and auxiliary) from a conjoined clause and retains unlike constituents on each side of the gap.

Obviously gapping affects the middle of clauses because this is where the verb is usually located. Is, then, gapping really verb-deletion?

One problem with this last question is that it forces us to choose between two different types of verb-deletion. Verb-deletion as it was envisaged earlier in this paper derived sentences such as (46) from sentences such as (47). Gapping, as an alternative form of verb-deletion, would derive (48) from (47).

(46) *Bruce and Sheila enjoy flake and flathead (respectively).*

(47) *Bruce enjoys flake and Sheila enjoys flathead.*

(48) *Bruce enjoys flake and Sheila flathead.*

It will be recalled, however, that we favoured a phrasal approach to sentences such as (46), because a reduction approach involves too many possible deep structures to account for the various interpretations of sentences like (34). One further disadvantage of the reduction approach for such sentences is that they involve some reordering of the constituents — as was, in any case, originally envisaged in Chomsky 1957 (see (1) above).

One advantage of abandoning the reordering of elements in conjunction reduction is that we can abandon verb deletion as applied in (46) and allow gapping as the verb deletion form of conjunction reduction. In fact, we suggest that conjunction reduction involves no reordering of constituents at all; rather, conjunction reduction in general (that is, including gapping) can be drastically simplified from the version originating with Ross 1967b, and which is stated by Koutsoudas as “(1) raising an identical constituent; (2) deleting all lower identical repetitions of the same constituent; (3) pruning non-branching nodes; and (4) relabelling constituents to yield an A-over-A structure.” (Koutsoudas 1971: 337).

The simplification we propose is to do away with the raising and deletion of lower identical repetitions — that is operations (1) and (2) above — and merely delete an identical constituent (the choice of which of the identical constituents to delete being determined by some form of the directionality constraint).⁵ Pruning and regrouping will then still apply.

In the following section we show the derivation of the four main types of reduced⁶ conjoined structure in order to demonstrate how this simpler form of conjunction reduction applies.

⁵ For a discussion of the directionality constraint see Koutsoudas 1971 and Mallinson 1977a.

⁶ The term “reduced” is used very loosely here for those structures which can be derived by reduction but which, as the discussion to follow indicates, need not be so derived.

2.3. A Simplified Form of Conjunction Reduction

In this section it will be assumed that gapping is that form of conjunction reduction which affects verbs, and that verb reduction (and the reordering that entails) has no place in syntax as it was originally envisaged.

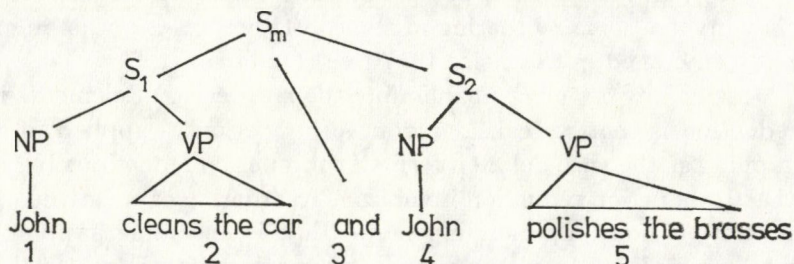
2.3.1. Subject NP Reduction

Given a sentence such as (49) related to (50), the following derivation will apply (leaving out important details such as agreement which are irrelevant to the discussion in hand).

(49) John cleans the car and polishes the brasses.

(50) John cleans the car and John polishes the brasses.

(51)

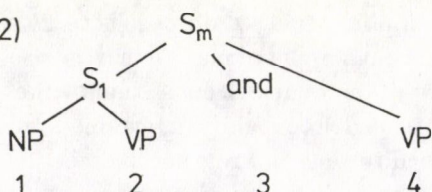


Conjunction
Reduction \Rightarrow

1 2 3 \emptyset 5

Tree Pruning \Rightarrow

(52)



Regrouping \Rightarrow

$S^{(1} - VP^{(2} - 3 - 4)VP)S$

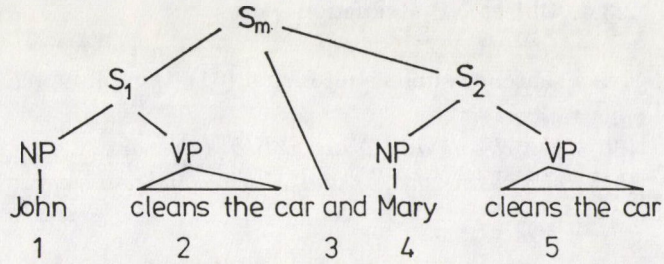
2.3.2. VP Reduction

To derive a sentence such as (53) from (54), the following derivation will apply.

(53) John and Mary clean the car.

(54) John cleans the car and Mary cleans the car.

(55)

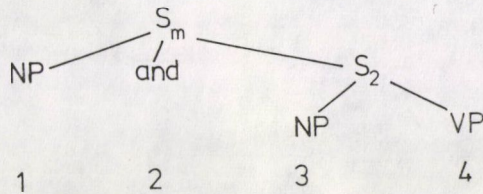


Conjunction
Reduction \Rightarrow

1 \emptyset 3 4 5

Tree Pruning \Rightarrow

(56)



Regrouping \Rightarrow

$S (NP^{(1-2-3)} NP^{(4)} S)$

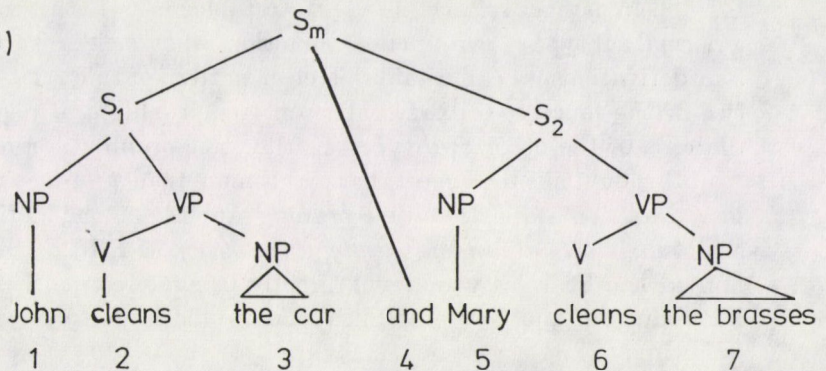
2.3.3. Gapping (or V Reduction)

To derive a sentence such as (57) from (58), the following derivation will apply.

(57) John cleans the car and Mary the brasses.

(58) John cleans the car and Mary cleans the brasses.

(59)



Conjunction
Reduction \Rightarrow

1 2 3 4 5 \emptyset 7

Tree Pruning does not apply.

Regrouping does not apply.

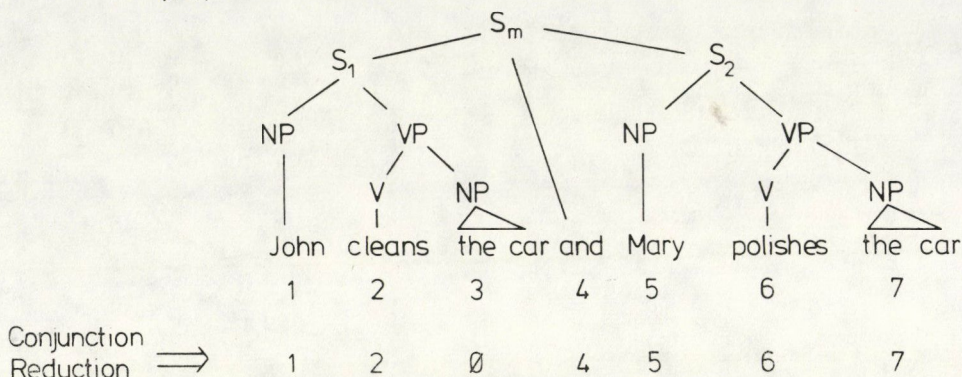
2.3.4. Object NP Reduction

To derive a sentence such as (60) from (61), the following derivation will apply.

(60) *John cleans and Mary polishes the car.*

(61) *John cleans the car and Mary polishes the car.*

(62)



Tree Pruning does not apply.

Regrouping does not apply.

At this point I should like to have gone further into cases of Object NP reduction since these structures have the distinction of being semi-grammatical in English (and other languages). However, this point is discussed in some detail elsewhere.⁷

3. Whatever criteria we use for establishing whether gapping is or is not a normal subtype of conjunction reduction, what is clear is that from the above four derivations we can establish a clear pattern of rule relatedness. In the first two of the four types examined, both tree-pruning and regrouping apply. In the case of the other two types, neither tree-pruning nor regrouping applies.

I should like to suggest that this is more than a pure coincidence. Furthermore, we can state that tree-pruning applies in the derivation of surface structures *which are independently generable by the PSR approach*. There are no non-ad hoc PS rules which will directly generate cases of (as it were) Object NP reduction and Gapping. Such rules would have to be something like the following.

(63) $S \rightarrow NP\ V\ NP\ VP$

(64) $S \rightarrow NP\ VP\ NP\ NP$

⁷ Again see Mallinson 1977a.

Clearly the grammatical rules set up to account for English data would not be well-served by such devices.

What we are left with, then, is a syntactically-motivated way of determining the suitability of one or other of the two extreme approaches to phrasal conjoining discussed earlier. In cases such as 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 above, the choice is simple. The reduction approach must be used for Object NP and Verb reduction. For examples where there is a simple verb preceded by a phrasally-conjoined subject NP and followed by a phrasally-conjoined object NP (as in (34)), the PSR approach is unavoidable.

However, this leaves us with two major categories of sentence where there is no clear way of deciding between the two approaches — Subject NP reduction (i.e. phrasally-conjoined VPs), and VP reduction (i.e. phrasally-conjoined subject NPs). The compromise we referred to early in this paper is partly achieved in that there is a clear choice in all the other types of structure — both approaches are applicable but never in the same structure. What kind of a compromise is it to state that *both* approaches are valid in these other two cases?

One of the major problems in transformational studies is that of determining whether the rules we set up have any psychological reality. One risks censure and ridicule in claiming psychological reality for rules which are intended to be *g e n e r a t i v e* in the sense that they *a c c o u n t* for the sentences of a language but do not purposely (there is always the chance that they do it accidentally!) show how those sentences are *p r o d u c e d* by the speaker-hearer.

In fact, the term *s p e a k e r-h e a r e r* seems to be the key to this problem. The rules formulated within a generative grammar have been claimed to be neutral with respect to the two participants in the speech act — the person sending the message and the person receiving it. Both are claimed to have access to the grammar and although it is tempting to assume that the hearer uses the speaker's derivational system in reverse, there is no *a priori* reason for considering such a notion.

I should like to suggest that for those who are concerned with the distinctions between speaker grammars and hearer grammars, the above discussion has some relevance. Stated very informally, the speaker's grammar can be represented in the reduction approach and the hearer's grammar by the PSR hypothesis.

In the sentence types where the PSR approach has no place, the hearer cannot resort to a PS analysis of the reductions he is exposed to. Rather, in these cases resort must be had to processing by *c l u e s* — such as the intonation of the original two clauses associated with gapping examples. The use of the very term *g a p p i n g* is an indication that the verb is felt to be missing and the special intonation enables us to read it back into the mutilated struc-

ture.⁸ Similarly there is a hiatus associated with cases of Object NP reduction which points to the missing constituent.

Finally, on a more theoretical syntactic note it might be suggested that regrouping as it is envisaged above (sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2) is not precisely the regrouping envisaged by Ross and Koutsoudas. Rather than being a highly abstract generative account of the derivation of certain surface structures in language, it might well have some psychological reality. Coupled with the tree-pruning rule with which it is associated, it has important implications not only for synchronic studies of the relationship between speaker and hearer grammars, but also for the diachronic aspect of phrasally conjoined structures; in particular, the tendency for originally reduction- or PS-derived conjoined NPs to develop into synthetic lexical items, as exemplified by the admittedly somewhat trivial (65).

(65) *Fish and chips is a traditional dish in Northern England.*

Again it is stressed that these suggestions are made very informally as an attempt merely to account for what is otherwise a coincidental relationship between the applicability of tree-pruning and regrouping to reduced structures independently generable by the PSR hypothesis.

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⁸ For a discussion in more detail of the clues available to the hearer in gapped examples, see Mallinson 1977b.

ON TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTEROLOGIES

By

L. DEZSŐ

Humboldt and the typological characterology of individual languages

In the second half of the 20th century typological characterology has been thrust into the background in research practice, and even more so in the examination of the theoretical problems of typology. In an analysis of the latter it is advisable to return to Humboldt, who raised these questions in an essentially up-to-date manner.

Outstanding personalities in the history of various disciplines could formulate requirements of a theoretical nature which subsequent generations cannot grasp or can grasp only fragmentarily in the process of research. A century or even more may pass before their conceptions can serve as a basis for a scientific research programme — naturally on a more advanced level, relying on the results arrived at in the meantime.

Humboldt was such an exceptional personality, and there is a considerable literature on his typological views (of recent works cf. Coseriu 1972, Ramat 1973, and Telegdi 1970, whose approach is closest to the one adopted by the present author).

For Humboldt, general linguistics is essentially a comparative discipline of linguistics. It is, however, important to add that the “object of Humboldtian general linguistics lies therefore in a difference of languages; on the other hand, the recognition of the difference presupposes a comparison, and can present itself only through it, as its result” (Telegdi 1970, 234). It is essential to specify what is meant by the second statement here in relation to the subject of general linguistics and comparative language studies. The general grammar of the 18th century considered the diversity of languages superficial and incidental, and assumed the existence of a universal grammar underlying them. Universal grammar, the universal features of languages are of course essential from the viewpoint of comparative language study, but, as opposed to general grammar, Humboldt emphasized the need for a systematic understanding of the specific properties of individual languages. For Humboldt, the description of individual languages was the goal of linguistics, while the scholars of general grammar regarded as science only the investigation of the general characteristics of language. As the properties of individual

languages are incidental, they latter considered them as 'techné' rather than science. The Humboldtian conception of general linguistics could transcend the view of general grammar because it discovered the importance of examining the types which created the link between the universal properties of language and its specific properties.

No detailed analysis of Humboldt's views can be attempted here: it is significant to note that for Humboldt language meant unity, by which he basically meant that language is a system, and he was diametrically opposed to general grammar, which aimed at the examination of (universal) elements only, and took no cognizance of language as a system. Humboldt's insight went unnoticed for nearly a hundred years. This is even more true of another of Humboldt's fundamental insights, namely that language is essentially an activity: "He relates languages to the faculty of mankind to create languages, which means that he considers them to be creations, in which this ability manifests, explicates, expounds, and unfolds itself, while the comparison of languages serves for him to encompass as to methods and volume the ability from which they derive" (Telegdi 1970, 229). The product of activity is secondary for him, and his view of this essentially differs from that of his great successor, de Saussure, for whom language is primarily a closed system, linguistic activity being thrust into the background, and it is only in the second half of the 20th century that linguists have revived the Humboldtian view. The recognition that language is a system is necessarily accompanied by the proper notion of linguistic form: "By linguistic form (in the Humboldtian sense of the word) one must therefore understand the 'method of language creation', i.e., the law according to which a community incessantly creates, 'generates' its own language" (Telegdi 1970, 230). Humboldt's view of linguistic form is therefore an organic part of his entire conception, and it is very difficult to identify it with any contemporary view of structure. Perhaps this is the Humboldtian concept, which especially depends on the theoretical context, and can be interpreted only with difficulty when isolated from it. This has led to a number of misunderstandings, of which one is connected with generative grammar. "The Humboldtian 'Sprachform' is thus not a structure whose proper reproduction is generative grammar but a principle (more exactly a living 'Drang' that creates this structure and its details, in so far as it manifests itself through them and unites them into a whole)" (Telegdi 1970, 235).

Humboldt's conception, I believe, unites several aspects: In Humboldt's principle of activity linguistics is not separated from psycholinguistics, language being closely bound up with thought. His conception of language is essentially functional, for he considers language in its communicative function. Linguistic activity is directed at the expression of thought, and 'thought' is used here in the broad sense of the word, denoting the message to be conveyed, as well

as some other things, although it is not exactly defined or interpreted. The division between the psychological and the linguistic study of language came about some time later, although the two are still closely intertwined in the work done by one of Humboldt's followers, Steinthal. The Humboldtian linguistic form does not assume rules — whether abstract or concrete — but rather a general principle creating the structure of language, which, if one intends to remain faithful to Humboldt's entire conception of language, is primarily of a typological nature and means something like a complex type in contemporary typology, except that its manifestation in individual languages and its expression are not explicit.

With Humboldt, typology is not yet divided into two conceptions, one aiming at a classification of languages into types and the other setting out to grasp the peculiarities of individual languages on the basis of the former. In the course of later progress, it has mainly the first tendency, i.e., the classification of languages into types, that developed the more markedly. It was the typology of this field which achieved more and more significant results: from morphological types to syntactic ones and from simple types to complex ones. Incidentally, morphological types came to be regarded to a certain extent as complex morphologico-syntactic types in the 19th century. Humboldt's approach, however, was characterized not only by this but also by the endeavour to characterize the total sum of the typological and individual properties of individual languages, through the principle creating their form.

This is the point to which one must revert today, but it must be further developed so that typology may be applied to the descriptive and historic examination of individual languages. It is insufficient only to establish what types languages belong to, since it is also necessary to understand the specific nature of individual languages.

If the relevant aspect of Humboldt's conception is summed up in present-day terminology, from a present-day point of view, it can be established that Humboldt considered language as primarily an activity and, in this respect, his view was at variance with both universal grammar and de Saussure's conception. In the description of individual languages, it was of crucial importance for him to take into account the universal and typological laws of languages, but, according to him, both kinds of laws manifested themselves as a particular whole in the individual properties of languages. Accordingly, linguistic form and linguistic structure must be interpreted as the fundamental principle in the creation of individual languages, a principle which is unique in the case of every language, but in which the general and typological laws of language also manifest themselves. (On the latter see Telegdi 1970, 236. fn¹³.) It is essential to add that for Humboldt linguistic form is a method of creating languages, a law, a procedure by which language is created (cf. Telegdi 1970, 28). Thus, Humboldt's conception is basically a synthetic one, in which empha-

sis is laid on creating linguistic forms. This is the idea that brings Humboldt's views so close to trends in modern linguistics. In spite of the imprecise interpretation, Chomsky is partly right in pointing out that Humboldt was a precursor of the synthetic view of language and that the generative approach is connected with Humboldt's views only as one version of the latter approach. The examination of Humboldt's conception raises problems which are the recurrent basic questions of linguistic science and which are accounted for in a variety of ways. An analysis of his views is made especially opportune by the fact that he took comparative language study as the centre of his research and his views are closely bound up with a conception of linguistic theory that aims at creating linguistic structures. Necessarily, further developments in typology did not follow the path indicated by Humboldt.

Typological characterology after hundred and fifty years. Obviously we can make no attempt here at surveying the progress of research in general linguistics and typology during these one hundred and fifty years. A general description of the advance made in the typological approach, however, is indispensable for the linguist in understanding the nature of present-day typological characterology. This has been treated in some detail in my book (Dezsó 1979), so only a short summary will be given here.

The empirical basis of typology, i.e. the typological generalization of individual languages, developed gradually, though unevenly, at a varying pace. In the 19th century, just as in the whole of linguistic science, morphology was predominant, but those familiar with the typology of this period know that morphology-based syntactic descriptions relating to the use of morphological forms abound in the works of Misteli, Winkler and Fink, and Skalička's morphological classification of types extends over morphologic-syntactic phenomena (cf. Misteli 1893, Winkler 1887, Finck 1910, Skalička 1935). Self-contained syntactic analysis, however, emerged only in the thirties and forties of the twentieth century with Meščaninov and his disciples (for its mature version see Meščaninov 1963), but did not become widespread until the second half of the century. Nowadays syntax-based typological research has come to the foreground. This is, however, a result of conceptual change, which derives from the fact that the analytic approach has been supplemented by a synthetic one seeking rules for creating sentences and word forms.

The methodology of typological investigation was characterized by the analytic-taxonomical method which centred around the technique of forming words. This is how it is generally interpreted and, on the whole, this interpretation is valid. In reality, however, this was supplemented by a number of other morphological and morphology-based syntactic features as early as the 19th century. These were not formulated clearly as classificatory criteria because they could not be integrated into the classificatory framework. Classi-

fication became complex with Sapir and came to be formulated explicitly, thus looking forward to the quantification seen in the early works of Greenberg. The earlier criteria based classification, which involved elements, was replaced by the typological characterization of the subsystems of syntax, or morphology and syntax in the Prague school and the Soviet school during the nineteen-thirties of the century.

In this connection the interpretation of the crucial concept of typology (i.e. type) also underwent a change: the simple type was replaced by the complex one, which stated the coexistence of the properties of several subsystems. So far such a conception of type only recorded phenomena but did not account for them. Indeed, this could not be done, since the examination of types was not supplemented by a theory or hypothesis which could explain the jointly observable features. Besides, typology usually remained within the limits of subsystems, and even if there existed a typologically relevant theory, such as Hjelmslev's case theory for example, it did not go beyond the limits of subsystems. Even today the only possibility in principle is for theories of subsystems to become connected and integrated. Generally, even less is accomplished in reality: the subsystems of grammatical typology are not integrated into a unified explanatory theory, although attempts at this have been made (Klimov 1977).

The emergence of typological characterology and the typological characterization of individual languages was made possible by a more precise interpretation of the concept of type and the formulation of the mixed type in addition to the pure one — mainly in the Prague school (Skalička, Mathesius). Current and future research in typology must make further progress in applying the Humboldtian approach to be applied on a higher level of development.

Typologists have much concrete research to do, in the examination of subsystems of grammar hitherto unrevealed by typology. This, however, must take place on a higher level. We cannot be content with merely recording facts in revealing the typology of subsystems, but must account for them on the basis of a partial theory, and the information thus obtained must be integrated into the whole of typology, and finally partial theories must come together to form parts of a fairly complete theory. This will help typology to go beyond the empirical level proper and, what is more, beyond the classificatory level to attain a theoretical level yielding typological constructs (cf. Hempel 1965), which are accounted for by principles based on theories.

In order for typological research to attain such a high level, one must necessarily elaborate the general theoretic-methodological questions of typology, and clarify the theoretical basis of typology. The specific concepts of typology, and the application of linguistic theory, methods and laws in typology must be examined in terms of the recent achievements in linguistic

theory. In the comparative study of cognate languages this was carried out a hundred years ago by H. Paul (Paul 1880). The foundations for an analysis of non-cognate languages were laid by Humboldt. The next stage was characterized by the typological chapters in Gabelentz's work (Gabelentz 1891), which, however, cannot be compared to Paul's book as regards either exhaustiveness or impact. Nevertheless, eighty years were to elapse before any further advance (Kacnel'son 1972, Greenberg 1973), but today an ever increasing amount of research is being carried out in this field.

There is a significant change under way in the manner of approach: analysis is being supplemented by synthesis, i.e. the derivation of linguistic constructs, which will lead on to a higher level of abstraction using the results of the analysis. This is again something not unprecedented. It was Gabelentz (1891) who, following Humboldt, distinguished clearly between the analytic and synthetic approach, but the latter did not become a research procedure until the second half of the 20th century. It should be noted that, from the viewpoint of the methodology of science, the derivation of sentences and morphological units can be described as synthesis only if the results of analysis are also taken into account and if a fairly complete picture of language and linguistic activity is given.

It is impossible to establish types in typology without thorough knowledge of the underlying universal invariables. The investigation of types was supplemented in the sixties by an examination of universals which led only to universal implications between types (Greenberg 1963); but the typological investigation of universal invariable underlying the types of individual linguistic subsystems is a quite recent development. If we consider the requirements treated above, this research proceeds from universals towards types, encompasses the whole of grammar and may yield a meaningful universal grammar in the not too distant future.

All this will be significant from the viewpoint of the synchronic and diachronic investigations of individual languages, i.e. from that of the overwhelming amount of linguistic research, if it is supplemented by a description of the current state and history of individual languages. Such typological characterology must be based on general typology. Attempts at this have been made both by typologists and students of individual languages, language families and groups. The views of typologist have changed a great deal in this respect. For Misteli, individual languages illustrated only types and for this reason merely the characterology of languages of the pure type alone could be considered. Skalička's aim was to characterize individual languages and language families on the basis of complex types — with a view to the fact that one language usually represents several types (cf. Skalička 1935).

It is here that the discussion of an interesting aspect of Humboldt's comparative linguistic analysis can be resumed: namely the investigation of

the principles which are relevant to individual languages and explain their development and present form. The last quarter of this century will have the task of constructing a research programme to put Humboldt's conception into practice. The basis for this is provided by a completely reformed general comparative linguistic discipline which began with Humboldt but which was able to be formulated in detail only in our age.

A brief typological characterology of Russian in comparison with Hungarian. Process, or, to use another term, dimension, is a fundamental notion here. Unfortunately, there is as yet no uniform definition of this notion. A process, which will be the term employed here, represents the formation of the types of grammatical subsystems from an invariable basis by means of various formal devices, as a result of the application of a system of rules including cardinal principles of great explanatory power. Processes that create subsystems fulfil a certain function, as parts naturally have their functions in the whole.

The representation of such processes can be successfully achieved if it satisfies the needs of exact typological description, of which the following are singled out:

a) description of the invariable object in typological terms which are sufficient for the derivation of grammatical objects representing various types;

b) objects obtained as a result of the application of derivational rules have the following characteristics:

(1) there is a calculus, i.e. a system of rules that help to create all resulting objects from an initial object, with particular rules that create types;

(2) there are means of formal expression, with the help of which resulting objects are formed.

In a typological characterology of individual languages the description of types irrelevant for a given language is reduced and the typological description is supplemented by language-specific rules and means. Here some individual processes will be represented so far as these will be indispensable from the viewpoint of Russian and Hungarian, but most of the specific phenomena in these languages will not be considered. Below an elementary characterology of Russian will be given in the framework of the following processes.

(a) the primary organization of the sentence: ergative and nominative construction;

(b) the prominence of the nominal and verbal components of the sentence: determination, aspectuality and tense;

(c) diathesis: active, passive, impersonal and elliptical sentences;

(d) theme and rheme: their expression by word order, syntactic stress and special morphemes;

(e) the morphological expression of syntactic components: analytic and synthetic words, agglutination, inflection, etc.;

(f) the structure of nominal paradigms: case systems.

The division of the uniform process of sentence formation inevitably leads to a division of complex interrelations within subsystems of the sentence, which at the same time distorts the picture. This is traditionally the case in linguistics. For example, the subject functions in a sentence, but the grammar singles it out for the sake of analysis. Undoubtedly, when individual processes are considered, one must constantly keep in mind their interrelations. Besides, it must be borne in mind that in the formation of sentences there are primary sentences which can trigger various processes. For instance, in an extremely simple sentence like *Petr pišet pis'mo*, one is simultaneously dealing with a nominative construction, a primary or zero diathesis, a primary theme-rheme division, unmarked noun-phrase determination and aspectuality. Yet the given distribution of processes is motivated by the fact that the primary formed sentence is a starting point for the rules of secondary diatheses, and that each diathesis has its own rules of theme and rheme. Therefore, one group of processes has to be preceded by another and each process has its own rules and types distinguished from others. Noun phrase determination and aspectuality contain auxiliary information which is relevant in the primary formation of the sentence and is taken into account in subsequent processes. There is no need to justify the fact that complex propositions are separated and are introduced after the processes of the simple proposition. The explanation of the fact that morphological processes proper are placed after syntactic ones is that the impact of syntactic factors on morphological ones is considered to be more important than the reverse; but one must certainly not disregard the impact of morphology on syntax.

As was noted above, in the description of processes it is indispensable to describe the universally invariants of a syntactic-semantic nature and the constructions of languages. Naturally, the present description can only partially meet these requirements: invariable elements will be characterized in brief, with major principles singled out and principal types outlined.

The universal underlying structure of syntactic derivation consists of the predicate and its arguments, which are divided into 'constituents' and 'circumstants', i.e. obligatory and free arguments. Semantic-grammatical features of predicates and arguments are taken into account but no detailed account of them can be attempted here. Only features which will be necessary later in the analysis are touched upon here. Dynamic and stative as well as transitive and intransitive predicates are differentiated among others (incidentally, there is considerable disagreement concerning the naming of various kinds of predicates and features). Dynamic predicates have an additional constituent which possesses the functional feature of activity, while no such

constituent can be found with stative predicates. Examples of intransitive dynamic and stative predicates are: *Devuška tancuet*, *Devuška krasiva*; of intransitive predicates: *Petr pjet vodu*, *Petr vidit vodu*. Incidentals express place, tense, instrument, etc. Some auxiliary information on tense, aspect, noun phrase determination, etc. must also be contained in a universal invariable structure, since it is indispensable for the derivation of various types.

What features must a universal invariable structure contain? A sizable amount of information ought to be taken into account, although the issue is far from clear as yet. This problem can be solved in the course of typological investigations.

For a typologist, this structure serves for the derivation of types and it must contain the amount of information that is indispensable for this purpose, and nothing but this information. The features themselves are defined by means of abstraction in the course of typological investigations, in which not only overt but also covert categories are taken into consideration. The following example is familiar to Slavists: 'totality' is the common feature of 'Slavonic' type aspect, and although it does not coincide with any of the partial features of aspectuality, the latter can be derived from it.

Formation of primary sentences. In the derivation of kernel sentences, a notion which is not to be defined here (cf. Keenan 1976), the process of primary sentence formation plays a prominent part. But, as was noted above, a primary sentence represents a zero diathesis as well and in this way serves as a point of reference for rules of diathesis. In addition, it is neutral from the viewpoint of the process of theme and rheme, and its elements are placed in accordance with the basic rules of the word order and accentuation of an initial diathesis. It is advisable to unite the processes of diathesis and theme-rheme in the complex process of communicative organization or functional perspective and to examine them separately. The first term is to be preferred, since the second has a specific connotation which associates it with the Prague school.

Communicative organization and the semantics of the predicate jointly determine which constituent will become the subject and which one the object; in the basic communicative organization of dynamic predicates, for instance, the active argument becomes the subject, while the non-active will function as the object: *Petr pišet pis'mo*. The subject (*Petr*) is the theme, whereas the object (*pis'mo*) is the rheme, or at least is part of the rheme. In primary sentences, the relationship between the subject and the theme as well as that between the object and the rheme are the characteristic features. It is necessary to recall that the terms subject and object are derived from the metalanguage and can function as subjects or objects in individual languages.

It is this kind of sentence derivation that the typology of sentence formation is linked with, distinguishing topic-prominent languages, which stand

in contrast to subject-prominent languages, with an intermediary group of topic and subject-prominent as well as neutral languages (cf. Li—Thompson). There are a number of well-known subject-prominent languages. Topic-prominent languages have a morphologically marked theme (topic) and lack a set of rules which are connected with the subject in 'subject-type' languages. Topic-prominent languages will not be dealt with here; only 'subject-type' and 'subject-object-type' languages will be discussed. It must be noted, however, that in subject-prominent languages, like Hungarian, features characteristic of topic-prominent languages can also be observed (cf. É. Kiss 1979).

The formation of constituents in the sentence may be controlled by two principles: (1) the object, or the centre of the rheme is marked, (2) the subject, or the centre of the theme is marked. In nominative languages it is the object that is marked, and even the semantic features of the verb can be reflected in the formation of the object, for instance, by means of various case endings, *Petr rešacet zadacu*, *Petr ždet pis'ma*, *Petr rad pis'mu*, etc. The subject has the unmarked form.

In ergative languages it is the subject that is marked and the semantic features of the predicate may be reflected in its formation. If the predicate is dynamic or active, the active argument or the agent appears in the ergative case, while other cases mark subjects in the case of other predicates, the object being unmarked. Within ergative languages one can distinguish ergative languages proper, which mark the object of transitive verbs only from active languages where the subject of intransitive verbs is also marked. Instead of esoteric examples from little known languages, the active subtype will be illustrated by pseudo-Russian examples: *Petr pišet zadaču*, *Petr tancuet*, where *d* is a fictitious case ending.

The marking of the active subject is an inalienable feature of ergative languages, unencountered in nominative languages, although the subject of a non-dynamic verb may also be marked in the latter, with the object left unmarked, e.g. Russ. *Petra jest' šl'apa*, Hung. *Péternek van kalapja* 'Peter has a hat', where the subject assumes the genitive or the dative case, while the object takes the nominative (cf. S-Cr. *Petar ima sesir*, Russ. *Petr imeet šl'apu*).

Apart from this specific sentence structure with corresponding rules of marking by means of nominal and verbal morphemes, the ergative type also implies the formal opposition between transitive and intransitive verbs as well as the basic word order of SOV. Ergative languages show a frequent occurrence of nominal classes, nouns (singularia or pluralia tantum) denoting one or more than one object respectively, the important role played by *Aktionsarten*, the inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural, the absence of infinitives, etc. (cf. Klimov 1973, 259–263). That is why ergative languages represent

a complex type with a number of 'frequentals', i.e. phenomena occurring very frequently but not universally.

Primary sentence formation is an extremely complex process. As a basic link in the derivation of sentence, it is bound up with cognitive processes on the one hand, and with morphological processes, on the other (cf. Panfilov 1977). No attempt whatever will be made here even to sketch the contours of this complex interrelationship; the question of division into subtypes will however be touched upon.

Ergative and nominative languages are divided into subtypes which are established on the basis of the role that the prominence of the predicate, subject and object, i.e. aspect and noun phrase determination, plays. Subtypes of ergative languages will be neglected here (cf. Kibrik). The partitive subtype of nominative languages alone will be considered. In Balto-Finnic languages the subject is expressed by the nominative or the partitive case, and the object by the accusative or the partitive. The total subject or object represented by a nominative or accusative is regarded as definite, the verb being perfective. Indefinite or partitive subjects or objects are collocated with non-perfective verbs. In Lithuanian the partitive subject or object is expressed by the genitive case. In Slavonic languages only traces of the partitive genitive have been preserved. In Hungarian this correlation is unknown. The fact that the partitive subtype did not emerge in Slavonic languages is accounted for by the occurrence of the 'overt' category of aspect, similar to Hungarian where the absence of the partitive subtype is due to the occurrence of the 'overt' category of definiteness. Wherever neither of these categories developed, their function was taken over by total and partitive case endings. Illustrative examples from Finnish will be given together with their Hungarian equivalents and Russian translations:

Petteri söi leivän. 'Petr s''jel xleb.'

Péter megette a kenyeret. 'Petr s''jel (def.) xleb' (lit.).

Petr s''jel xleb. 'Peter ate/has eaten the bread.'

The Finnish accusative (*livän*) corresponds to a verb with a perfective prefix in Hungarian and Russian, and a noun in the accusative preceded by the definite article in Hungarian: *a kenyeret* or a noun in the accusative in Russian.

Petteri söi leipää.

Péter kenyeret evett.

Petr jel xleba. 'Peter ate/has eaten some bread.'

The Finnish partitive case corresponds to the genitive of the Russian noun and to the accusative of Hungarian noun with zero article (*kenyeret*). The per-

fective prefixes *meg-* and *s-* are not added to the verb in Hungarian and Russian, respectively.

The Russian sentence *Petr s''jel xleba* 'Peter ate/has eaten some bread' with a perfective verb and the object in the genitive also exists but is accounted for by the particular features of aspect in Russian.

The partitive subtype encompasses a wide range of constructions as can be testified by a comparison between Estonian and Russian (cf. Pjal et al. 1962). The remains of the partitive genitive in Russian represent considerable difficulties for Hungarian learners of Russian, for partitive constructions are missing in Hungarian (cf. Dezsó 1979).

Although the questions of primary sentence formation have been analysed in some detail, nothing has so far been said about 'incidentals' expressing place, time, etc. by means of substantive forms and adverbs. Their typology has not yet been worked out, albeit the typology of case systems deals with this range of problems — on the paradigmatic level. This is clearly insufficient, for one must also take into account languages possessing no case system. The means of expressing adverbials in Russian and Hungarian, however, have been elaborated in detail on the semantic level, which greatly facilitates their typological analysis (cf. Pete 1973, Pete 1976). The expression of adverbial relations in English and Hungarian has been studied along similar lines (Keresztes 1975). These works provide some support for typological analysis. This has had to be noted first of all in order to point to the function of contrastive research in typology.

On aspectuality and determination. In Balto-Finnic languages, in Lithuanian, in Slavonic languages and in Hungarian the same type of aspectuality can be observed. The clearest case is that of aspect in Slavonic. Aspectual pairs are formed by two cycles of rules; perfectivization and imperfectivization: *pisat*—*napisat*, *perepisat*—*perepisivat*. In Lithuanian and Hungarian only perfectivization exists: Hung. *ír* 'pisat', *megír* 'napisat', there being no imperfectivization. In this way they represent only aspectuality, without the category of verbal aspect, which implies highly developed morphological means in both perfectivization and imperfectivization. This type of aspectuality may be contrasted with another one, represented by English, Swahili and some other languages, which manifests itself in two sets of temporal forms of dynamic verbs expressing activity in process and in completion: *Peter was reading the book*, *Peter read the book*. Different types of aspectuality have implications concerning the system of tenses and Aktionsarten (on typology see Comrie 1976, on the comparison of Russian and Hungarian see Bihari—Tyihonov 1968).

Balto-Finnic and Slavonic languages as well as Lithuanian lack articles, whereas Hungarian has definite, indefinite and zero articles. The presence of

articles provides a solid formulation on which to group some languages together into one type, in which, apart from universal demonstrative pronouns expressing 'emphatic' determination, there is also an article for the expression of 'non-emphatic' determinateness. Both types of languages, those with and without articles, are further divided into subtypes according to what features of determinateness are conveyed by what formal means. In spite of valuable general works (Moravcsik 1969, Kramsky 1972, Majtinskaja 1969), no clear picture of these features has yet been drawn in typology and, with the exception of the article, the devices of determination have remained little studied.

Noun phrase determination is also connected with aspectuality, as was pointed out above. The link between determination and grammatical number is also known, and here only one generally neglected factor will be considered: the attitude of the speaker. In aspectuality the role of this factor is taken into account, but sometimes only with some reserve, as a non-systemic factor. In the typology of noun phrase determination and number, one must distinguish between languages which consistently apply marked features from those that use them only when the speaker considers it necessary to express them for his own purpose in communication. Naturally, the freedom of the speaker is limited by a number of factors. For example, in the Hungarian sentence *Péter újságot olvasott* 'Peter newspaper read' (lit.) it is not known whether Peter read one or more than one newspaper, or whether the newspapers were already known or not. If the speaker thinks it necessary, he will communicate, for example, that he read one definite newspaper: *Péter olvasta az újságot*. If, however, he read a newspaper right through, he must express number and determinateness: *Péter elolvasta az újságot, Péter elolvasott egy újságot* 'Péter read/has read the/a newspaper' where determinateness is expressed by a definite or indefinite article (*az, egy*).

On parts of the sentence. No mention of the parts of the sentence was made when processes were enumerated, as they must be considered to be the result of a number of processes. As is well-known, parts of the sentence like predicate, subject, object, adverbial are distinguished in all languages. Grammars of various languages, however, differ greatly in their ways of drawing a borderline between parts of the sentence because they link these categories with the peculiarities of their expression in the given language. This side of the question does not concern typology. There are, however, phenomena which do not depend on the peculiarities of individual languages and their grammatical traditions. In nominative languages, for example, there is a remarkable agreement in the definition of the predicate and the subject, but no consensus can be encountered in the definition of objects and adverbials. In the majority of grammars, including grammars of Russian, direct and indirect objects and adverbials are distinguished. In Hungarian grammar there are only direct

objects and adverbials. It would be an error to consider the latter division as just a whim of Hungarian grammarians. Tradition chose only one of the possible solutions, which can be conceived as the formal expression of sentence constituents. Even the examples quoted above suffice to show that Hungarian has objects expressed by the accusative even in cases where Russian and other languages use other oblique cases. If, with a view to the Hungarian case system, this analysis were extended to other cases and other parts of the sentence as well, the Hungarian accusative expressing a primary object would turn out to stand in clear-cut contrast to other cases expressing adverbials and secondary objects. The division into direct object and adverbials, the latter comprising secondary objects too, could be effected on such a basis. Naturally, not all details concerning the parts of the sentence in Hungarian are determined by the case system. In the opinion of the present author, it is more important that the Hungarian case system represents a special type, and that the division into parts of the sentence is motivated by typological factors.

If in nominative languages there are also constructions typical of the ergative type, problems of defining the subject and object arise. The sentence Russ. *U Petra jest šlapa* and Hung. *Péternek van kalapja* can be given a twofold interpretation: *U Petra* and *Péternek* will be the subjects, while *šlapa* and *kalapja* the objects or vice versa. In the second case, the subject will be represented by the part of the sentence that is expressed by the nominative (*šlapa*, *kalapja*), but then a strange primary order of subject and object is obtained where the subject appears in sentence-final and the object in sentence-initial position. Since Hungarian grammarians pay more attention to morphological means than to word order, they chose the second solution. But then the parts of the sentence in individual languages do not correspond to universal considerations, according to which the constituents *U Petra* and *Péternek* are subjects, but *šlapa* and *kalapja* objects, as in the Russian sentence *Petr imeet šlapu*. (On the typological question of parts of the sentence see Cleny 1972).

The communicative organization of the sentence: diatheses in addition to theme and rheme. The primary rules of communicative organization are applied in deriving primary sentences. Secondary rules change primary sentences in accordance with the context, situation, and the goals of the speaker. It is advisable, nevertheless, to consider primary and secondary rules jointly.

The system of rules of diathesis precedes the rules of theme and rheme: each diathesis has at its disposal theme-rheme rules of its own, but so far typology has studied the word order rules of complete active sentences only. The process of diathesis is less familiar under this term. In addition to complete active sentences, it encompasses incomplete active, impersonal active and passive sentences as well. By diathesis is meant the interrelation between the

arguments of the underlying invariable structure and the various parts of the sentence. Complete active sentences show a primary interrelation which changes when any one of the arguments is omitted from the sentence, or their interrelation in passive sentences is altered (cf. Tipologija 1972, 13), e.g. *Petr pišet pis'mo*, *Pišet pis'mo*, *Pis'mo pišets'a Petrom*, etc. From the viewpoint of typology passive voice represent the most important derived diathesis. The primary formation of the sentence, however, may exclude the possibility of the emergence of passive constructions; topic-prominent languages do not have passive sentences or their role is marginal (cf. Li—Thompson 1976, 467). It may very well be the case that the absence of the passive in a number of languages is closely bound up with their topic-prominent properties. Hungarian also belongs to this group. In the majority of languages the agent is missing in passive sentences. If passive exists in a language, one has the following opportunities for passivization: the subject of the passive sentence can be the direct object, the indirect object or even the adverbial, e.g. *Peter gave the book to Paul*, *Petr dal knihu Pavlu*, *The book was given to Paul*, *Kniga byla dana Pavlu*, *Paul was given the book (by Peter)*, 'Pavel byl dan kniga Petrom' (lit.), *Somebody slept in the bed* 'Kto-to spal v posteli', *The bed was slept in* 'Postel' byla spana' (lit.).

In languages with no passive, the interrelation between constituents and parts of the sentence is expressed by some other means, e.g. verbal predicates have a double base with a transitive and an intransitive variant, e.g. Hung. *nyit* 'open' (tr.), *nyílik* 'open' (intr.) and word order is free, as in Hungarian and topic-prominent languages (cf. É. Kiss).

Parts of the sentence in the basic diathesis may be ordered on the basis of four types of rules. They are well-known and it is sufficient to enumerate two variants:

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| (1) SOV | (2) SVO | (3) VSO | (4) VOS |
| OSV | OVS | VOS or | SVO |

In the basic order in types (1) to (3) S precedes O, and in type (4) it is the other way round. In the secondary order of the categories in question, O precedes S, with the exception of one of the subtypes (3). For types (1) and (2), the characteristic position of the verbal predicate is at the end or in the middle of the sentence.

Russian belongs to type (2): *Petr pisal pis'mo*, but it has free word order, which allows 6 variants. Hungarian too has free word order, but there may be two basic orders: SOV *Péter levelet írt* 'Peter letter wrote' (lit.), if the verb has imperfect aspect and the object has no article, but also SVO *Péter írta a levelet* 'Peter wrote the letter' (lit.) if the object has a definite or indefinite article and/or if the verb has imperfective aspect.

Word order rules themselves are insufficient for the typology of the theme and rheme. They must be supplemented by rules of sentence stress. Unfortunately these rules are little known. Data from a large number of languages of type (1) testify to the principle of pre-verbal stressing, when the nominal part of the sentence immediately preceding the verbal predicate receives sentence stress: OV (where O is a stressed part of the sentence). If this place is taken by an unstressable element that cannot be removed from its place, the stressed part of the sentence (O) precedes this element: OUV, where U is an unstressed element; when in the case of free order the verb is not placed in sentence final position, the principle of pre-verbal stress is preserved, e.g. in Hung. *Péter levelet írt* 'Péter letter wrote' (lit.), *Levelet írt Péter* 'Letter wrote Peter' (lit.). The part of the sentence following the verb is not stressed in Hungarian (VU), but in some languages it may have contrastive stress (VO).

In languages of type (2) the principle of postverbal stressing applies: the part of the sentence immediately following the verb or some other element receives sentence stress: VO: *Petr pisal pis'mo*, VOU: *Petr pisal pis'mo Pavlu*. In languages with free word order the part of the sentence preceding the verb may also be stressed, usually for the sake of contrast: *Petr pi s' m o pisal*.

On the basis of word order and rules of sentence stressing it should be possible to establish the typological rules of theme and rheme. A comparison of data from languages of various types demonstrates that the same configuration of word order and stressing fulfils different functions, whereas the same function is expressed by means of a different configuration, e.g. Russ. *Pis'mo pisal m a l'č i k* has its Hungarian counterpart in *A levelet egy g y e r e k írta* (cf. Dezsó 1979 for more detail).

The linearization of parts of the sentence, words constituting phrases and morphemes within words, i.e. the order of elements in grammatical units follows two typological principles. They have various names, but here the old latin names will be used: the principle of *regens post rectum* and that of *regens ante rectum*. Greenberg's universals, which laid the foundations of the typology of word order were formulated on the basis of these principles. The principles themselves, however, had been well-known before. Some of them will be enumerated here, with illustrative examples from Hungarian and Russian:

A) Word order of phrases

- a) the relationship between the object and the verbal predicate

OV: *levelet írt*, VO: *pisal pis'mo*;

- b) attributive constructions expressed by participial phrases

Participle S: *a levelet író fiú*, Participle S: *mal'čik piščuščij pis'mo*
'the letter writing boy' (lit.);

c) attributives expressed by adjectives

Adjective S: *csodálatosan szép lány*, S Adjective: *devuška udivitel'no krasivaja*. '(a) wonderfully nice girl' (lit.);

d) possessive attributes expressed by nouns in the genitives

Ngen N: *a fiú kalapja*, N Ngen: *šlapa malčika* 'the hat of the boy'.

It is clear for all speakers of these languages that the Hungarian word order may also be VO, while in Russian a participial phrase may precede a noun, and an adjective usually takes its place before a substantive. In Hungarian the principle of *regens post rectum* is observed consistently enough, whereas in Russian this principle is enforced together with the principle of *regens ante rectum*.

B) Order of analytic and synthetic words

e) postpositions or prepositions

az iskola mögött *za školoj* 'behind the school'

f) suffixes and prefixes

téved-és-ek-et 'errors' *per-evesti* 'translate'.

Here it must be noted again that the principle of the postposition of auxiliary morphemes and words is consistently observed in Hungarian and that in Russian suffixation is also highly developed. All this is not a result of mere chance. In Hungarian, as in languages of the type SOV, the principle of *regens post rectum* is consistently observed. The principle of *regens ante rectum* is consistently applied only in languages of the type VSO, while languages of the type SVO are inconsistent. In the case of Russian, one must also reckon with the fact that the type SVO is the result of a relatively late development. Indo-European and, perhaps, Common Slavonic belonged to the type SOV. In an originally SVO language like Swahili, the principle of *regens ante rectum* is more consistently adhered to.

On morphological processes. With the analysis of the complex types of linearization the field of morphology has been entered and the order of morphemes in analytic and synthetic words has been touched upon. The principles of the agglutinative, inflective and isolating expression of grammatical meanings in morphemes and their integration into words are well-known. Nor is it necessary to treat in detail the analytic or synthetic shaping of words. It is, however, indispensable to touch upon the paradigmatic side of the issue, namely the case and inflectional systems. Russian and Hungarian, a primarily inflective language and a primarily agglutinative one, have different types of case and inflectional systems. The case system of Russian belongs to type 1, while that of Hungarian belongs to type 2 (cf. Hjelmslev, Dezső 1979). From

the viewpoint of general typology the data of the two languages under analysis here would suggest the conclusion that inflective languages have a case system of type 1, whereas agglutinative languages have a case system of type 2. The problem is, however, much more complex. The relationship between inflective and agglutinative techniques as well as case systems is not clear as yet. The sole assumption of reasonable likelihood here is that agglutinative languages may have a case system of type 2, while inflective languages may, perhaps have no case system.

Some basic information on the complex range of problems connected with the two types of case systems will be presented chosen here.

Type 1 is adequately represented by Russian, while for type 2 Hungarian may serve as suitable illustration, though the picture is less clear in the latter case. In type 1, cases express objective as well as adverbial meanings, whereas in type 2 some cases express (basic) objective meanings but others adverbial ones. In addition, adverbial meanings expressed in Russian by the same case with various prepositions are expressed in Hungarian by means of various case endings, e.g.

Acc.	<i>stol</i> (object),	acc.	<i>asztal-t</i>
<i>v</i> + Acc.	<i>stol</i>	illative	<i>asztal-ba</i>
<i>na</i> + Acc.	<i>stol</i>	suppressive	<i>asztal-ra</i>

Three Hungarian cases correspond to the Russian accusative with or without a preposition. This explains why the Russian case system consists of six cases, while the Hungarian one has about twenty cases (there is no complete agreement on the number because of defective cases). It is of course a question of principles rather than number: in Russian the principle of the joint expression of objective and adverbial meanings applies, as opposed to Hungarian where the principle of the separate expression of these meanings holds. This principle surfaces also in agglutinative languages which have few cases, with adverbial meanings expressed by postpositions; while in agglutinative languages with a case system of type 3 (e.g. Tabasaran) even the meanings expressed in Hungarian by postpositions are conveyed by case endings whose number may reach fifty. Such a development of a principle is open for all languages in which postpositions co-occur with an unmarked genitive and their change into a case ending is possible.

The 'simple' Russian case system is realized in three declensions, and each case is expressed by various endings in the singular and the plural, so that each case is, as a rule, represented by six endings. In addition to declensions, the phonetic shape of the last vowel of the stem is also taken into account, which further increases the number of variants. In addition to the synonymy of case markers, their homonymy can also be observed. The 'complex' system of Hungarian cases, on the other hand, is expressed by uniform endings in

both singular and plural, which have only phonetic variants depending on the phonetic shape of the stem. The forms of the dative in the two languages are compared below (with no claim to completeness):

Rus. singular I.	<i>škol-e, tet-e, II. dom-u, kon'-u, III. ploščad-i</i>
plural I.	<i>škol-am, tet-am, II. dom-am, kon'am, III. ploščad'-am</i>
Hung. singular	<i>iskolá-nak, néni-nek</i>
plural	<i>iskolá-k-nak, néni-k-nek.</i>

Apart from morphological features, complex types, as worked out by Skalička, also rely on syntactic, derivational and phonological features; that is why they characterize language systems in the fullest possible way. This brief survey of the grammatical typology and characterology of two languages is concluded here by the enumeration of a number of features characteristic of the inflective and agglutinative type (cf. Skalička 1974, 18—19).

The inflective type:

- a) synonymy of case endings
- b) homonymy of case endings
- c) strong differentiation of word classes
- d) grammatical gender or some other classification of nouns
- e) free word order
- f) subordinate clauses instead of deverbative noun phrases
- g) predominance of vowels over consonants

The agglutinative type:

- a) abundance of case endings
- b) limited homonymy and synonymy of case endings
- c) weak differentiation of word classes
- d) absence of grammatical gender
- e) bound word order
- f) deverbative noun phrases in place of subordinate clauses
- g) highly developed system of consonants

If the present analysis were complete and if complex propositions were also dealt with, one could note in connection with feature f) that although both languages have subordinate clauses as well as deverbal noun phrases, subordinate clauses are of more recent development in Hungarian, and Russian participial constructions were secondarily introduced later under the influence of the literary language. Skalička's criterion is also correct: in Russian, parts of speech are clearly distinguished, while in Hungarian there is no clear boundary between nouns and adjectives. A consideration of the phonological criteria would stretch the scope of the present paper too far. They are only given as an illustration of complex typology as worked out by Skalička (1974).

Typology in descriptive and contrastive grammars. This brief survey is far from complete; it has taken into account elements of a characterology of two languages. It has had a twofold aim: to direct the typologists' attention to the fact that their results become common property if they are made use of in descriptive and contrastive grammars of individual languages, and to convince scholars interested in individual languages that their descriptions based on typology may be important to a great number of linguists who are not specialists in some given language. The unifying force of typology may be contrasted with the process of isolation, as a result of which linguistics is transformed into an unfortunate conglomerate of separate investigations. I do not mean by this that typology is the only consolidating factor of the discipline; I firmly believe however that it helps linguistics to reach a higher stage of development.

The object of descriptive grammars will continue to be the particular system of a given language in its specificity. It is not a question of returning to general and rational grammar but of explicitly formulating typological laws relevant for language, for they have great explanatory power, serving as a source for the establishment of a considerable number, though naturally far from all of the individual features. Since no language in general represents a 'pure' type, it is necessary in characterizing an individual language to consider all the types that manifest themselves in the given language. Other types can be briefly noted.

Contrastive grammars of theoretical purpose are based upon descriptive grammars, and knowledge of the contrasted languages is assumed. However, the focus of attention in such grammars is transferred to a comparison of two language systems. The mere fact that different types and subtypes are probably reflected in the systems of two languages requires a broader and more detailed presentation of typological information, with attention to the individual properties of the languages contrasted. A contrastive grammar is not the amalgamation of two individual grammars; this would give rise to unnecessarily voluminous grammars. A contrastive grammar must contain those parts of the material of two languages which have explanatory power as a result of the comparison itself. For example, in a contrastive grammar of Russian and Hungarian, the principles of the case systems and inflection systems of the two languages must be included; but the grammar should not incorporate an enumeration of the formal variants of the case endings of Russian declension, with the exception of those that can be better understood on the basis of a comparison with Hungarian.

Authors of descriptive and contrastive grammars can, however, blame typologists for the fact that the typological information is scattered in hundreds of publications and is not available in a coherent form. This criticism is certainly justified. The integration of typological knowledge is indispensable for

typologists. Only a generalization of the results attained by typology will create the necessary conditions for the writing of typological characterologies of individual languages. These characterologies will then serve as an optimal source for the application of typology in the description and comparison of individual languages.

Having completed this analysis of the correlations of typological investigations, I must note its one-sidedness, as I approached this question only from the viewpoint of typology. A generalization of the results arrived at in the description of individual languages as well as in contrastive research can be regarded as the objective of another investigation.

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SINTASSI E STILE NEI CARTEGGI SETTECENTESCHI

G. HERCZEG

1. Gli anni a cavallo fra il Sei e il Settecento sono ricchi di fermenti innovativi, relativi alla struttura della prosa italiana, abbastanza aperta a quel tempo ai neologismi d'origine forestiera, per quel che riguarda l'arricchimento del lessico. Aspetto questo che in questa sede a noi interessa meno; basti qui affermare che non si può parlare di presenza massiccia e invadente, se accettiamo l'idea della *diffusione*, cioè se lasciamo i neologismi dove sono, sparsi qua e là nelle vastissime opere dei singoli autori.

È il rinnovamento strutturale che è l'argomento della nostra analisi e occorre premettere, per cominciare, che tra esso e la trattatistica antibarocca dell'epoca esiste un collegamento indiscutibile. Infatti, le tesi estetiche miranti alla demolizione del secentismo, fondato sul periodare ritmico, musicale, dalle ampie frasi simmetricamente collocate e spesso anche sul prevalere dell'ipotassi, vanno di pari passo con la scioltezza, la maggiore scorrevolezza e fluidità che si osservano persino nella prosa dottrinale ed erudita del tempo.

Tesi queste messe in evidenza da tempo dal Fubini nel suo saggio muratoriano del lontano 1933/34, ripubblicato nel volume *Dal Muratori al Baretti* del 1954 e dal Calcaterra nel suo saggio: *Lingua e stile nel Muratori* apparso nel 1950 su «Convivium». Saggio in cui il Calcaterra esaminava anche la posizione del Cesàri, il quale, nel suo amore esagerato per il Trecento, non esitava ad associare il Muratori agli scrittori del Seicento che egli chiamava «vani, goffi, leggeri, overamente anche impazziti, con vergogna dell'Italia.»

Più vicino a noi nel tempo Umberto Pirotti ripropone il Muratori in un interessante studio: *La prosa del Muratori*, apparso anch'esso su «Convivium» nel 1967. Il titolo è un po' ambiguo; veramente di analisi linguistica vera e propria non si tratta, ma solo di qualche osservazione morfosintattica e lessicale. Il Pirotti, autore anche di altri saggi sul Muratori, fonda la sua ricerca sulla scelta di prosa muratoriana, uscita nel 1964 presso Ricciardi in due volumi. I suoi giudizi, anche in chiave linguistica, si fondano sulle duemila pagine di testi provenienti quasi esclusivamente dalle maggiori opere del vignolese. Del Pirotti si coglie bene anche la tendenza polemica: difendere l'operato dei curatori che hanno presentato un Muratori immune da mutilazioni faziose ed al-

terazioni indebite, assegnando una cospicua parte anche alle opera religiose e teologiche, consapevoli che non si poteva negare o sminuire la fecondità culturale della religione o della religiosità cattolica, dal Muratori intimamente vissuta.¹

L'argomento, per quanto interessante, esula dalle nostre ricerche; ci siamo soffermati sullo studio del Pirotti solo per sottolineare che le sue affermazioni e le sue conclusioni si basano su un'Antologia, nella quale predominano quasi esclusivamente gli scritti eruditi o storici (fra questi ultimi gli *Annali italiani* e le *Antichità estensi*).

Ma i segni linguistici e stilistici più indicativi del fermento innovativo vanno individuati invece in un altro tipo di prosa, che molto più della prosa scientifica e anche di quella storica, era capace di trasformazione, scostandosi dalle strutture precedenti, secentesche e cinquecentesche, fondate sulle simmetrie ritmiche o sull'ipotassi.

Al tempo del Muratori, dei Maffei, di Pier Iacopo Martelli, di Bernardo Tanucci, di Pietro Metastasio, di Gasparo Gozzi, di Apostolo Zeno e dei fratelli Verri, la prosa si rinnova nello stile dei carteggi, che rispecchiano la realtà quotidiana, concreta e palpitante di attualità; la letteratura divertente, ricca di spunti narrativi, di aneddoti, di episodi interessanti, popolata di personaggi che destano la nostra curiosità, è rappresentata da questi poderosi volumi di epistolari purtroppo raramente consultati e non tanto dalla prosa dottrinale erudita e filosofica, né, salvo felici eccezioni, come è la Storia di Milano di Pietro Verri, dalla prosa storica che si riferiva spesso ad avvenimenti sommersi in un lontano passato, con poca attinenza con il presente.

E proprio la prosa dei viaggi della seconda parte del Settecento, vivace e spesso anche pittoresca, sebbene non priva, a volte, di atteggiamenti eruditi, si era formata in base all'esperimento dei carteggi dei decenni precedenti.

Per valutare giustamente i cambiamenti sintattici e stilistici, ci dobbiamo rifare più che ad altri, al Muratori, autore di lettere a portata di mano di tutti, grazie all'esemplare edizione di Matteo Campori, in 13 poderosi volumi, comprendenti all'incirca seimila pagine.

2. Il nostro interesse, tuttavia, deve andare a quelle lettere, nelle quali il Muratori discorre degli avvenimenti della storia contemporanea e di casi particolari della sua vita privata e non alle lettere di impegno dottrinale, delizia delle antologie, come quelle al Tartarotti sull'immortalità dell'anima, o quella al padre Concina sull'usura, o al Salvini sulla lingua italiana o quella autobiografica a Giovanni Artico di Porcia, nella quale racconta la propria vita

¹ Il Pirotti ravvisa la presenza di massicci danni se non si prende in considerazione tale fattore; allude all'opera di Sergio Bertelli: *Erudizione e storia in Lodovico Antonio Muratori*, Napoli 1960; il Bertelli, avverso alla fede religiosa del vignelese, finirebbe col parer estraneo al tema trattato.

di studioso, accompagnando le parti narrative con riflessioni metodologiche, religiose, morali, usando, a volte, una critica sorridente degli errori commessi.

Pezzi di grande interesse questi per i critici e gli studiosi della letteratura e della storia. Per noi sono più importanti quelle lettere nelle quali il Muratori si rivela osservatore attento e anche prudente partecipe delle vicende storiche e politiche del suo tempo e della sua patria, il Ducato di Modena. Aspetto che fugge, di solito, agli studiosi, abituati ad analizzare un po' astrattamente le idee filosofiche, estetiche, letterarie del Muratori, senza tener conto della sua posizione politica, ricca di conseguenze anche per la scelta di argomenti delle lettere con il coerente rispecchiamento nello stile di esse.

Si tenga presente che il Muratori seguì con molta attenzione le vicende di tre guerre di successione; la prima, la spagnola, ha rappresentato una svolta importante nella storia italiana con il passaggio del Ducato di Milano dal dominio spagnolo a quello austriaco; la seconda, quella polacca, come la terza, quella austriaca, portarono spostamenti di truppe di varie nazionalità negli Stati italiani, per cui il Muratori si è visto costretto più di una volta a rifugiarsi in campagna. Durante la guerra di successione polacca il Duca Rinaldo I, al quale il Muratori era legato da rapporti di amicizia riparò a Bologna, essendo stata Modena occupata dai francesi (1734—36).

Nella guerra di successione austriaca il duca Francesco III, figlio di Rinaldo I perdette il trono, perché, sia pure formalmente neutrale, era filofrancese e il ducato di Modena subì l'occupazione sardo-austriaca. Il Muratori, forse un po' servilmente, cercò in quei frangenti l'amicizia del re sardo, Carlo Emanuele III.

Inoltre, lui vivente, avvenne la liberazione di Buda dal giogo ottomano (1686); negli anni successivi poté assistere alla cacciata dei Turchi oltre il fiume Sava (con la temporanea liberazione di Belgrado) ed ad altri avvenimenti importanti della guerra tra Austria e Turchia, dei quali il Muratori dà ragguaglio nelle sue lettere. Avvenimenti questi di grande portata internazionale e con strascichi importanti per la storia degli Stati italiani, compreso il Ducato di Modena.

L'interesse politico del Muratori è vivo fino dall' inizio, grazie all'amicizia che egli strinse con Carlo Borromeo Arese, uno dei personaggi più cospicui² dell' aristocrazia lombarda, (1757—1834), imparentato con Innocenzo XI. Al Borromeo Arese il giovane Muratori dovette l'incarico di bibliotecario all'Ambrosiana nel 1694 e a Milano rimase sei anni per mettersi poi al servizio del duca Rinaldo I, con la raccomandazione del suo protettore milanese.

Erano gli ultimi anni del dominio spagnolo di Milano, si sapeva che dopo la morte di Carlo II si sarebbero verificati grossi cambiamenti, e si prevedeva da anni lo scoppio della guerra tra Austria e Francia, guerra che si trascinò

² Di Carlo Borromeo Arese si legge un'ottima biografia nella *Biografia degli italiani*.

poi su vari fronti europei. Il Borromeo Arese era uno dei più accreditati capi dell'ala filo austriaca dell'aristocrazia lombarda, stanca del malgoverno spagnolo e desiderosa di nuove aperture. Anche il Muratori parteggiava, sia pure con prudenza, per l'Austria, come trapela dalle sue lettere. A proposito della guerra d'indipendenza del principe Rákóczi, eroe di tutto rispetto della storia ungherese che condusse una lunga guerra contro l'Austria, terminata nel 1711, il Muratori considera indebitamente Rákóczi e le sue truppe come ribelli e mostra soddisfazione per la loro sconfitta, convinto com'era del ruolo direttivo dell'Austria nello scacchiere europeo e non desiderava la scomposizione dell'Impero.

Non si contano le lettere del Muratori indirizzate al Borromeo Arese fin dal 1700. Uomo di fiducia del personaggio più potente del partito «imperiale», che tenne anche il viceregno di Napoli per qualche tempo dopo il 1710 in nome di Carlo VI degli Asburgo, il Muratori gli mandava copiose informazioni, facendolo edotto anche dei minimi particolari, ma usando spesso un linguaggio cauto e figurato, non nominando direttamente i personaggi o i luoghi.

La sintassi e lo stile del Muratori, ostile alla prolissità, si delineano fin da queste sue prime lettere e mantengono la stessa semplicità fino alle ultime scritte alla vigilia della morte. La ragione della semplicità è da ricercarsi in posizioni e situazioni diremo metalinguistiche. Il più delle volte egli si è visto costretto a concentrare le notizie in brevi frasi precise, tendenti a rappresentare con efficacia la realtà del momento: fatti e avvenimenti riassunti per sommi capi, in poche battute chiare e concise. Di qui il suo atteggiamento di cambiare rapidamente discorso e di passare ad altro avvenimento, non soffermandosi sui vari aspetti e non approfondendoli.

Fatti questi che determinavano i suoi mezzi stilistici e che si generalizzano nelle lettere di argomento storico. Si veda un solo esempio: la lettera del 20 agosto del 1716, scritta al sopradetto Carlo Borromeo Arese a Napoli.

Oggi noi siamo in gala e feste per solennizzar di nuovo la nascita dell'Arciduca e la recente vittoria d'Ungheria. *Solenne Te Deum, maestosa macchina di fuochi, e feste da Ballo.* Piaccia al Signore, che ci abbiamo spesso da rallegrare per simili cagioni. Ma poco buone, anzi cattive sono le nuove di Corfù, con dirsi già occupati vari posti da i Barbari, e cominciato l'assedio, senza provvisioni l'Armata veneta, ed anche lontani i più forti de gli Ausiliari. C'è dunque bisogno di nuovo miracolo, altrimenti passerà male all'Italia. Intanto benedetto il Signore Iddio per l'insigne grazia a noi fatta a Carlowitz. (. . .) La digerisce male la Corte di Toscana, perché all'improvviso quella di Baviera abbia richiamato a casa la vedova Principessa sorella, la quale già è dietro a far fagotto. Dicono che il sig. Principe Elettorale non restasse molto soddisfatto di quel Cielo. Ma s'aggiunge l'indispensabile ritorno della vedova Elettrice Palatina, e questo forse è lo spauracchio più gagliardo per l'altra. (L. A. Muratori, *Epistolario*, vol. V, pp. 1833-34, 20 agosto 1716.)

Sorprende la dovizia di notizie, contenute nella non lunga lettera. E vediamole: la nascita dell'Arciduca; la vittoria dell'Austria a Carlowitz, località nel comprensorio tra la Sava e il Danubio a Nord di Belgrado, avvenimento storico che avrà come conseguenza l'allontanamento del Turco dal confine meridionale

dell'Impero e la stessa Belgrado sarà presidiata temporaneamente da truppe austriache. E poi l'assedio turco nell'Isola di Corfù, possedimento veneziano, con i particolari rapidi, ma essenziali: l'esercito veneziano manca di rinforzi e le truppe liberatrici tardano ad arrivare. E come ultima notizia, ecco il richiamo in patria della principessa bavarese, sorella di Violante Beatrice, vedova di Ferdinando (+ 1713), figlio di Cosimo III e fratello maggiore dell'ultimo Medici, Gian Gastone (1723—37). Le due sorelle erano figlie dell'Elettore di Baviera, Ferdinando Maria (1651—1679), fautore dell'amicizia tra la Francia e la Baviera.³

Queste annotazioni rapide ed essenziali sono rese sul piano sintattico con proposizioni principali poco sviluppate. Si fa scarso uso di subordinate ed è quasi esclusiva la congiunzione *che*; ricorre una volta *perché* e un'altra volta *la quale*. La quasi assenza di periodi fondati sull'ipotassi, con la parsimonia nell'uso delle congiunzioni, è un connotato determinante che caratterizzerà la prosa di stampo letterario, non dottrinale del Settecento.

Si avverte inoltre nella lettera citata l'assenza del participio presente o del gerundio. Si hanno due soli costrutti infinitivali, dei quali il primo è un fatto della grammatica regolare che non chiede troppa spiegazione. *Siamo in gala e festa per solennizzar (. . .) la nascita e la recente vittoria*: il sintagma infinitivale sostituisce una subordinata finale, con il soggetto identico a quello della principale.

L'altro infinito dà invece qualche filo da torcere; siamo di fronte ad un vizzo invalso nella prosa muratoriana. Il Battaglia non aiuta a chiarire i nostri dubbi per il fatto che non ha registrato tale uso di *con* + *infinito*. I pochi esempi reperibili nel Battaglia illustrano un altro tipo di infinito, introdotto dalla preposizione *con*; i due esempi che citiamo dimostrano chiaramente proprio il senso strumentale, ma il breve testo introduttivo non lo dice:

Crederono poter rinnovarla *con allargarne* le facoltà, *con modificarne* le forme (Carducci); Il maestro cercava di radunare i bandisti *col battere* la bacchetta sopra uno dei leggi a stecche, disposti in circolo sul prato (Oriani).

I due esempi sono i più moderni nel paragrafetto (vol. III, p. 451); all'esempio di Oriani segue l'ultimo, di Alvaro, ma esso, pur avendo attinenza con l'uso strumentale, è un tipo di grammaticalizzazione: *comincia col dire, finisce col dire*, uso che mette in risalto soprattutto la momentaneità dell'azione.

Tornando al Muratori, è da escludere che si tratti di senso strumentale; nel caso citato bisognerà ipotizzare, a nostro avviso, la coordinazione copulativa: «cattive sono le nuove di Corfù, *e si dice* già occupati vari posti da i Barbari ecc.» Nella prosa delle lettere si osserva spesso tale tipo di infinito fondato sulla coordinazione; in alcuni casi abbiamo notato anche un rapporto subordi-

³ Infatti, la Baviera si schierò dalla parte della Francia nella guerra di successione di Spagna, contro l'Austria.

nativo, come è il caso del seguente esempio, nel quale il sintagma infinitivale sostituisce una subordinata consecutiva;

La desolazione delle nostre campagne è stata terribile, ma il peggio di tutto è stato che il suddetto sig. maresciallo conte di Traum per pagare e regalare la sua truppa dopo la battaglia (cosa che fa orrore), ha permesso il sacco di Camposanto e di tutte le ville vicine, *con essere rimaste* in camicia tante famiglie de' nostri poveri contadini, che saranno astratti a mendicare il pane, e *con restare incolte* quelle campagne. Come un signore di tanta pietà e amorevolezza per altro possa aggiustar con Dio questa partita, nol so dire. Si sono messe a quartiere le soldatesche, a null'altro c'è di nuovo, perché delle ciance non occorre parlare (Muratori, *Epistolario*, vol. X, pp. 4388—89, 17 febbraio 1743).

In questo episodio di sommo interesse della guerra di successione austriaca, nel corso della quale il Ducato di Modena fu costretto a subire l'occupazione degli austro-sardi, si rivela l'anima del Muratori: amor patrio, deplorazione dei saccheggi, prudenza nella condanna del responsabile, il maresciallo austriaco Traum, che nomina come un *signore di tanta pietà*, e prudenza per quello che riguarda il propalare ulteriori notizie, indubbiamente antiaustriache. Non va dimenticato l'atteggiamento filoaustriaco del padre dello sprovveduto Francesco III, il duca Rinaldo I e i sentimenti filoaustriaci dello stesso Muratori, legato alla casa regnante.

Tornando però agli interessi linguistici, dobbiamo rilevare la presenza di due infiniti, introdotti dalla preposizione *con*: «il sacco di Camposanto e di tutte le ville vicine, *con essere rimaste* in camicia tante famiglie (...) e *con restare* incolte quelle campagne.»

A noi pare indubbio che qui potrebbe essere usata una delle congiunzioni consecutive: *sicché, in modo, che, talché*; oppure una coordinata con un avverbio esplicativo, per es. *così, per conseguenza*. In tutti e due i casi si sente che la concatenazione è più o meno libera.

Al giorno di oggi prevale certamente il carattere paratattico del sintagma infinitivale, introdotto da *con*; si legga la seguente cronaca giudiziaria:

Vicino ai Lavoratori abita la famiglia del pescatore Aliseo Griego che proprio per la sua attività è costretto a dormire di giorno. La radio, come altre volte, disturbava il sonno del pescatore. Sua moglie, Teresa Ragucci, ha bussato alla porta dei Lavoratori chiedendo di abbassare un po' il volume dell'apparecchio. Ha ricevuto degli insulti. Scambio di battute. Poi, secondo le indagini della mobile, Aglieria Lorenzi avrebbe spaccato il vetro di una finestra dei Griego. È intervenuta anche sua madre, Alfreda Lavoratori. Sono volate botte *con accorrere di Aliseo Griego, di un suo nipote e la moglie e di un anziano*, che abita nel caseggiato, che si è messo nel mezzo per fare da paciere (*La Nazione*, 19 VI 1979, p. 8).

Sono volate botte *con accorrere* di Aliseo Griego: a noi pare indubbia l'analogia dei due costrutti: infiniti senza articolo, congiunti a mezzo della preposizione *con* alla frase che precede, in forma non impegnativa, mantenendo una certa autonomia. Il costrutto richiede ulteriori chiarimenti sintattici che faremo in altra sede. Ora basti affermare in merito al primo esempio, quello muratoriano, che la presenza o persino una certa diffusione nelle opere del Muratori

del sintagma infinitivale, introdotto da *con* indica, indubbiamente, la tendenza ad alleggerire la struttura della frase e a creare unità coordinate invece della subordinazione, aspetti grammaticali coerenti con l'intera concezione stilistica del Muratori.

Abbiamo visto il rapporto che esiste tra *dirsi* e la frase precedente; dobbiamo tener conto inoltre della semplificazione anche dei sintagmi retti dall'infinito; infatti si nota la mancanza dell'elemento verbale negli accusativi con l'infinito: *occupati i vari posti da i Barbari*, ~ *cominciato l'assedio*, ~ *senza provvisioni l'Armata veneta*, ~ *ed anche lontani i più forti de gli Ausiliari*.

Quattro sintagmi nominali, paratattici che acquistano quasi autonomia completa grazie anche alla dipendenza non stretta; *con dirsi* può equivalere a un sostantivo astratto: *corre voce*, si ha la *notizia*, e (una) *diceria* ecc., seguiti dall'elencazione dei quattro sintagmi ellittici.

Più nettamente si coglie l'ellissi nel secondo periodo: *Solenne Te Deum*, *maestosa macchina di fuochi*, e *feste da ballo*, con la mancanza totale dei predicati verbali che potevano essere: *si tenevano*, *si organizzavano*, *si allestivano* o comunque verbi analoghi del genere. Se l'autore avesse usato i predicati verbali per rendere la frase grammaticalmente corretta, avrebbe smorzato l'effetto stilistico che consiste nel mettere in evidenza il valore semantico dei sostantivi importanti con la simultanea rinuncia all'impalcatura grammaticale. La forza espressiva sta per l'appunto nel fatto che il rapporto logico-grammaticale rimane testualmente imprecisato, lo deve ricostruire il lettore, non suffragato dall'uso di vocaboli di connessione.

Nell'esempio che segue, accanto alle normali frasi ellittiche, figurano anche sostantivi astratti, anch'essi in funzione di frasi ellittiche. Si notano anche alcune proposizioni interrogative non finite che per il loro carattere incisivo servono a vivificare e a semplificare il contesto.

Ma, e della guerra? Non se ne può parlare senza sospirare e rattristarsi. *Pieno Reggio e Modena di soldatesche occidentali*, che ultimamente ancora sono ite a postarsi alla Bastia e Bomporto. *Pieno il Finale e Sanfelice di settentrionali*. *Saccheggj dappertutto; aggravi infiniti; e noi senza denari e ormai affatto spolpati*, e con timore di peggio. E pure speranza di pace non v'è per quest'anno. Decantano questi forestieri, che avranno a primavera centomila persone, e con quarantamila faranno l'assedio di Mantova e sessantamila staranno in osservazione. E nell'una e nell'altre armate di gran mortalità. *I nostri bestiami, tutto di in moto, e coi fenili voli: come resisteranno?* *E i nostri frumenti alla primavera?* Non ne dico di più; gran flagello (*ibid.*, p. 3358; 27 gennaio 1735).

Pezzo interessante anche sotto l'aspetto storico. Si tratta della recrudescenza della guerra tra Austria e Francia, questa volta in occasione della guerra di successione polacca. *Occidentali* e *settentrionali* sono termini prudentemente usati dal Muratori per definire *francesi* e *spagnoli*, da una parte, *austriaci* dall'altra. Il Ducato di Modena ebbe a soffrire non poco per le truppe di occupazione; il duca Rinaldo I dovette rifugiarsi a Bologna che faceva parte dello Stato pontificio. L'Austria perdette in quella guerra il Regno di Napoli, pas-

sato definitivamente ai Borboni, i quali iniziarono un periodo di ascesa, oggi universalmente riconosciuto dagli specialisti.

Il brano è di notevole efficacia sia per i periodi ellittici all'inizio e alla fine, sia per i due sostantivi astratti, forti, espressivi, collocati in mezzo al testo: *saccheggi . . . aggravì*, in sostituzione di forme verbali: *saccheggiavano* e *opprimevano*. Da notare anche le frasi interrogative, alcune di esse non finite, lasciate in tronco, sia all'inizio, che verso la fine: *Ma, e della guerra? I nostri bestiami (. . .) come resisteranno? E i nostri frumenti alla primavera?* E infine, l'esclamazione accorata: *Gran flagello!*

Dà all'occhio la scarsezza delle subordinate: soldatesche occidentali *che* (. . .); Decantano questi forestieri *che* (. . .); figurano due sole congiunzioni subordinative, due *che*, di diversa funzione sintattica (relativa e completiva). Non ricorrono, fatto degno di menzione, né infiniti né gerundi in ruolo abbreviativo; sono ite *a postarsi*: è un fenomeno di grammatica regolare, inerente al sistema dell'italiano.

3. Il marchese Scipione Maffei, veronese (1675—1755) militò agli ordini del fratello Alessandro, che era generale dell'esercito bavarese, e nel 1704 combatté alla battaglia di Donauwörth, a fianco dei francesi contro gli Imperiali, cioè contro l'Austria. Vivace ricordo della campagna, alla quale egli partecipò, è conservato nelle lettere, una diecina, scritte da lui alla madre, Silvia Pellegrini Maffei, ora reperibili nell'*Epistolario*, vol. I. Si tratta di un episodio della guerra di successione spagnola, combattuta sui vari fronti europei. Il Maffei parteggiava per la Francia; quasi contemporaneamente il conte Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, bolognese, suo coetaneo, metteva la sua preparazione di ingegnere militare al servizio degli Imperatori Leopoldo I e suo figlio, Giuseppe I.

Tornando al Maffei, citeremo alcune parti della lettera, indirizzata alla madre da Monaco di Baviera il 9 luglio del 1704, nella quale egli la fa edotta della battaglia di Donauwörth, in Baviera, che essi hanno perduto e che hanno vinto gli Imperiali. La lettera è conservata attualmente nella biblioteca capitolare di Verona.

Donauwörth (nel testo del Maffei figura erroneamente nella forma di Donavert) è una piccola città spettante all'Elettore, situata sul Danubio dalla parte della Svevia e dietro sé ha un ponte stabile, che dà il passaggio della Baviera. (. . .) verso il mezzogiorno fu comandata tutta l'Infanteria a travagliare (= lavorare; si trattava forse di scavare trincee); mio fratello restò a pranzo nella Città, io me n'andai al nostro quartiere in un villaggio mezz'ora di là e pranzato ch'ebbi sentii alcuni tiri di cannone (. . .). Arrivato alla linea vidi coperta gran parte della valle da i nemici che marciavano (= marciavano) verso noi in 4 colonne (. . .). Tirava intanto incessantemente il cannone, io non seppi mai veder un colpo che andasse bene; ma di quella de' nemici ogni scarica facea danno; ne(1) correr di qua e di là con mio fratello una palla di falconetto ammazzò il cavallo del mio servitore, che morì senza accorgersene. (. . .) Si sentì poi tirar da tutte le parti essendo attaccati in più luoghi. (. . .) Per due ore il foco fu così grande e tanto lo strepito che pareva un inferno. In più luoghi convenne portar a' nostri altra monizione; benché ne avessero per 15 tiri e ad alcuni non ostante. Molti soldati voleano uscir dal trinceramento massime dalla parte de' Granatieri ma fu proibito da mio fratello, che vi si trovò in quel

punto, perché non restava poi gente a guarnir la linea e non poteano che o restar ammazzati o ritornar fuggendo e partorir confusione; oltre di che uscendo con tanta facilità si dava a conoscere al nemico che il trinceramento non valea niente e che non vi era fosso bastante. (...) le cose erano già in tal confusione che non vi fu mezzo che volessero ubbidire, e veramente non erano che tre squadroni. Cominciarono allora i nostri a fuggire d'ogni parte. (...) La notte cominciò ad arrivare il soccorso, e la mattina arrivò l'Elettore. La città si tenne anche un giorno, poi s'abbandonò, e si ruppe il Ponte. (...) I nemici passarono, due giorni dopo, il Danubio e poscia il Lech; ora battono Raim piccola Città. L'elettore è coll'armata ad Augusta in un fortissimo campo; ma i nemici sono molto superiori di numero e di forze. (...) Il maggior dispiacere che si abbia è quello degli amici perduti. (...) Il Brigadiere Co.d'Arco, fratello del Maresciallo, bellissimo giovane e di bravura famosa, ebbe una ferita non molto grave in gola; nel ritirarci io andai a lui, e chiedendomi egli dell'acqua preso il cappello a un soldato, e andai a prenderne a una pozza, poi l'aiutai a cavallo, e se n'andò con uno che l'accompagnava, ma trovato rotto il ponte, montò in picciol barchetto, qual diede volta, ed egli restò miseramente anegato! Ma ciò che soprattutto mi preme, ed a mio fratello non meno, è la mancanza del Co.Nogarola del quale dopo otto giorni non si può sapere nova, con grande dispiacere di tutta l'armata. (...) Tutti gli altri Veronesi sono salvi. Non credo che Ella si potrà lamentare che non si scriva a lungo; avrei scritto con più ordine, se non mi mancasse il tempo. (Scipione Maffei, *Epistolario*, a cura di C. Garibatto, Milano, Giuffrè, I, pp. 12-17; 9 luglio 1704.)

Il testo citato è anteriore di tre decenni a quello del Muratori; la struttura del periodo è sostanzialmente uguale anche se, dati i diversi tipi di contenuto, lo stile della lettera del Maffei è meno plastico; infatti l'uso dei sostantivi isolati e delle frasi ellittiche nonché delle proposizioni interrogative danno una maggiore vivacità al periodare del Muratori. Si vedrà più avanti che i diversi tipi di costrutti paratattici, fondati sull'impiego dell'*a p p o s i z i o n e*, assente nella prosa muratoriana, contribuiranno a snellire sempre più le strutture stilistiche presso autori posteriori al Muratori in modo efficace.

Siamo ai primi del Secolo dei Lumi; deve essere colpito il lettore innanzi tutto della brevità delle frasi con il limitato uso dei nessi sintattici subordinativi e con la scarsa presenza di sintagmi infinitivali, gerundiali o participiali. Si tenga presente l'ultima frase della lettera: *avrei scritto con più ordine, se non mi mancasse* (cioè: *avesse mancato*) *il tempo*: una confessione importantissima questa che collima con la nostra affermazione relativa allo stile del Muratori; la necessità di concentrare le notizie in poche frasi precise che rappresentino con efficacia la realtà del momento, comporta l'atteggiamento di cambiare rapidamente discorso e di passare ad altro avvenimento. Il Maffei, nella lettera citata espone una sequenza di fatti seguendo il puro ordine cronologico, aggiunge solo raramente una sua osservazione esplicativa, proveniente dall'esame della situazione. Non deve quindi meravigliare, dal punto di vista della costruzione, il prevalere della semplicità espositiva provabile in base ai pezzi portanti del brano citato.

... verso il mezzogiorno fu comandata tutta l'Infanteria a travagliare; mio fratello restò a pranzo nella Città, io me n'andai al nostro quartiere in un villaggio mezz'ora di là ... ne(l) correr di qua e di là con mio fratello una palla di falconetto ammazzò il cavallo del mio servitore, che morì senza accorgersene. (...) Si sentì poi tirar da tutte le parti essendo attaccati in più luoghi. (...) Per due ore il foco fu così grande e tanto lo strepito che pareva un inferno ...

... Cominciarono allora i nostri a fuggire d'ogni parte. (...) La notte cominciò ad arrivare il soccorso, e la mattina arrivò l'Elettore. La città si tenne anche un giorno, poi s'abbandonò, e si ruppe il Ponte. (...) I nemici passarono due giorni dopo il Danubio e poscia il Lech; ora battono Raim piccola Città. L'elettore è coll'armata ad Augusta in un fortissimo campo; ma i nemici sono molto superiori di numero e di forze.

Nei pezzi riportati dominano, con schiacciante maggioranza, le proposizioni assertive o enunciative; anche quando esse appaiono formalmente chiuse in unità maggiori organiche, cioè in periodi di una certa estensione, sono proposizioni coordinate fra di loro, l'una accanto all'altra, senza che l'una pregiudichi o limiti l'autonomia dell'altra.

Ciò vale interamente per il primo pezzo che si articola intorno a tre vicende: l'Infanteria deve lavorare; il generale Maffei pranza in città; Scipione, autore della lettera, va nel villaggio. Si hanno pertanto tre proposizioni ascitutte, precise senza subordinate e gerundi o infiniti che potrebbero contenere, eventualmente, dei giudizi personali o valutazioni su scala più o meno vaste; le tre proposizioni si limitano a presentare tre azioni senza commento.

Il secondo pezzo è alquanto diverso sintatticamente pur con l'esposizione di tre avvenimenti; la palla di falconetto che ammazzò il cavallo del servitore di Scipione; i tiri che arrivavano da tutte le parti; l'inferno del fuoco. Si tratta, in questo caso, di un episodio vissuto drammaticamente e forse per questo l'autore fa trapelare qui, sia pure con parsimonia, il suo commento: ... ammazzò il cavallo del mio servitore, che morì (cioè: il cavallo) *senza accorgersene* (senza che il servitore se ne fosse accorto). Si sentì poi tirar da tutte le parti *essendo attaccati in più luoghi*, cioè: perché fummo attaccati in vari punti. Per due ore il foco fu così grande e tanto lo strepito *che pareva un inferno*.

Il commento dell'autore diventa soggettivo e personale solo nella terza frase, come risulta dal passo teste citato; si ha qui una consecutiva, introdotta dalla congiunzione *che*; la consecutiva serve, più che altro a mettere in evidenza l'eccedenza, oltre la misura normale, del fatto avvenuto, cioè del *fuoco* e dello *strepito*.

I commenti precedenti sono invece concreti, fondati sull'osservazione visiva: Scipione constata, nel primo, che il cavallo muore sotto il servitore e che il servitore non se ne rende conto. Ecco aggiunge tale constatazione al fatto avvenuto, sotto forma di un sintagma infinitivale, legato alla frase principale con la preposizione di valore sottrattivo: *senza*. La preposizione *senza*, premessa all'infinito, dà vita a una proposizione dipendente implicita; al giorno d'oggi i soggetti di questa e della proposizione principale devono coincidere. Il testo del Maffei è ambiguo, perché il lettore ne può anche ricavare quello che l'autore non aveva intenzione di dire e che cioè il cavallo morì senza aver notato la propria morte.

Nel secondo commento l'Autore si avvale di un gerundio di senso causale, aggiunto alla proposizione principale; esso ha il compito di spiegare l'avveni-

mento brevemente descritto nella principale: tiri da tutte le parti; segue il commento che spiega il fatto: essendo (= *perché eravamo stati*) attaccati in più luoghi (contemporaneamente).

A questo punto conviene tirare le conclusioni ed esse sono: la presenza limitata di subordinate e di sintagmi sostitutivi e la loro poca varietà; dal punto di vista della funzione, esse contengono il commento o la spiegazione che l'Autore aggiunge alla narrazione dei fatti.

La presenza delle subordinate e dei sintagmi sostitutivi non è affatto necessaria come lo può confermare ed illustrare il terzo dei pezzi precedentemente scelti. Mentre nel primo pezzo si avevano solo tre periodi (senza le aggiunte subordinate), nel terzo si nota già il rapido succedersi di almeno nove proposizioni brevi, o completamente autonome o inserite in periodi, nei quali stanno coordinate in vario modo: a mezzo delle congiunzione *e*, *ma*, o eventualmente con l'aiuto di avverbi, come: *ora*, e *poi*:

La città si tenne anche un giorno, *poi* s'abbandono, *e* si ruppe il Ponte; l'elettore è coll'armata in un fortissimo campo; *ma* i nemici son molto superiori di numero e di forze.

Si deve mettere in evidenza la mancanza totale non solo di subordinate, ma anche di sintagmi gerundiali, participiali o infinitivali, fatto che dimostra l'assenza di intervento in forma di commento o valutazione o giudizio dell'Autore nella narrazione dei fatti.

L'uso di *e*, *poi* e *ma* conferisce un andamento sciolto e paratattico a periodare che, diventato segmentato, appare in qualche modo vicino al parlato anche perché mancano le congiunzioni tipiche dei nessi logici; per l'appunto, nell'ultimo esempio che citiamo dalla lettera, l'andamento spezzettato crea un'elementarietà costruttiva; si sente quasi la necessità di voler usare un maggior numero di subordinate con cui completare ed evidenziare i rapporti logici, taciuti.

Il Brigadiere Co.d'Arco, fratello del Maresciallo (. . .) ebbe una ferita non molto grave in gola; nel ritirarci io andai a lui, e chiedendomi egli dell'acqua preso il cappello a un soldato, e andai a prenderne a una pozza, poi l'aiutai a cavallo, e se n'andò con uno che l'accompagnava, ma trovato rotto il ponte, montò in un picciol barchetto, qual diede volta, ed egli restò miseramente annegato.

L'episodio è caratterizzato dal continuo cambiamento di scene, fondate su brevi proposizioni coordinate ed inserite in un unico periodo. I nessi di legame sono *e*, *poi*, *ma*, com'era il caso di altri periodi della stessa lettera, citata:

Il Brigadiere (. . .) ebbe una ferita (. . .) io andai a lui () e andai a prenderne a una pozza, *poi* l'aiutai a cavallo, e se n'andò con uno (), *ma* () montò in un picciol barchetto (), ed egli restò miseramente annegato

Sette di numero sono le proposizioni autonome, coordinate in modo agevole, sciolto; si deve dar atto dei sintagmi gerundiali e participiali in funzione di frasi implicite e tre di numero:

e *chiedendomi* egli dell'acqua *preso* il cappello a un soldato; *ma trovato* rotto il ponte, montò in un picciol barchetto

Nel primo caso il gerundio si trasforma facilmente in una subordinata temporale sicché si ottiene la seguente soluzione;

e q u a n d o egli aveva chiesto dell'acqua, presi il cappello a un soldato, e andai a prenderne a una pozza ecc.

soluzione per cui non cambia la struttura fondamentale paratattica e coordinativa. Così succede anche nel terzo caso; anche qui si ottiene una subordinata temporale, a trasformazione eseguita:

ma q u a n d o aveva trovato rotto il ponte, montò in un picciol barchetto, (. .) ed egli restò miseramente annegato.

L'uso del gerundio e dei due participi passati è in connessione con il periodare rapido e con l'atteggiamento di voler ridurre il numero delle congiunzioni subordinative. Infatti, in tutto il pezzo figurano due sole subordinate relative, brevissime e introdotte da *che* e *qual*:

se n'andò con uno *che l'accompagnava*; montò in un picciol barchetto, *qual* (= il quale) *diede volta* [si ribaltò].

4. Le strutture sintattiche, rilevate nell'*Epistolario* del Muratori e rispettivamente in quello di Scipione Maffei, saranno continuate, diversificate e raffinate da Pietro Metastasio (1698—1782), Gasparo Gozzi (1713—1786) e soprattutto dai fratelli Verri: Pietro ed Alessandro nei loro carteggi.

Per i due primi bisogna mettere in risalto il poco interesse per gli avvenimenti storici e per il Metastasio anche il quasi totale disinteresse per la descrizione di ambienti e persone. Eppure il Metastasio si trovò anche personalmente coinvolto in certo qual modo nei risvolti della guerra di successione austriaca apertasi dopo la morte di Carlo VI al momento dell'avvento al trono imperiale di Maria Teresa, mecenati generosi ambedue dell'autore drammatico che dovette lasciare Vienna e trasferirsi al Sud in una regione ben protetta da fiumi, la quale fa parte della Slovenia orientale, vicinissima al confine. Momento grave questo per la giovane regina, minacciata dalle truppe franco-bavaresi, penetrate in Boemia, le quali puntavano su Vienna, la capitale, da dove il Metastasio parte nell'ottobre del 1741 alla volta della località che egli chiama *Czakathurm*, nome che nasconde nel suo secondo elemento la parola torre; la variante corrispondente in ungherese è infatti *Csáktorny* (T u r m, t o r o n y in tedesco, rispettivamente in ungherese, significano *torre*). E da qui che egli manda una quindicina di lettere fino al 20 aprile del 1742, senza dare una descrizione del luogo o del castello e senza far riferimento all'andamento della guerra.

È d'altronde vero che più tardi, negli anni 50, durante la guerra dei sette anni, alla quale Pietro Verri partecipò in persona, il Metastasio che quella volta non doveva interrompere il suo soggiorno viennese, inseriva nelle sue lettere notizie sia pure rapide, captate da altri, relative all'andamento della guerra; bisogna riconoscere che si accalorava, più di una volta, nel riferire vit-

torie austriache sui prussiani, cercando di fissare la toponomastica delle operazioni belliche, così come citava, se gli capitava, i nomi dei generali dell'una e dell'altra parte.

Da questo risultava un periodare semplice con periodi senza sviluppi, o fondati, eventualmente, sulla coordinazione: uno stile opaco, senza rilievo, che non rappresenta nessun progresso rispetto agli esempi già visti, di autori che precedevano cronologicamente il Metastasio. L'autentica prosa di lui non è negli esempi di cronaca bellica, di breve estensione, e sporadici; le novità delle sue strutture sintattiche si notano soprattutto nell'uso di frasi o anche di singole parole esclamative e interrogative nonché nella brevità incisiva delle risposte. Ma è evidente che le stesse frasi esclamative e interrogative devono pure essere brevi per colpire il lettore, dando un andamento vivace e movimentato al periodare che acquista un vigore plastico dovuto alla rottura con l'andamento piano dei periodi enunciativi.

Gli esempi sono infiniti e sono da collegarsi con lo stile dei suoi drammi; infatti il linguaggio teatrale del Metastasio è tutt'altro che monotono e si diversifica da quello di certi suoi contemporanei appunto per la brevità dei periodi e per l'uso di frasi esclamative e interrogative incisive, nonché di singole parole isolate.

Caro gemello, non è possibile ch'io vi spieghi lo stato insopportabile in cui mi trovo da sette anni in qua. Il peggio dell'affare è che non vedo principio di assuefarmi, come ad altri è succeduto. Sento che il vostro stomaco non vi tratti meglio di quello che non faccian con me i nervi miei. *O povera umanità! Ma Dio buono! perché mai queste delizie non vanno addosso a tanti asini e scelerati (!) che godono perfetta salute? Ma chi regola il tutto avrà le sue ragioni, che non vuole che noi sappiamo. Dunque rassegnazione e pazienza!*

*Credete voi ch'io sia rinvenuto ancora dalla sorpresa e dalla confusione in cui mi ha posto la vostra adorabile e magnanima sovrana? V'ingannate. Non rinverrò fin ch'io viva. Questi tratti reali sono così poco alla moda che qualche secolo in qua che non è possibile non ammirarli e venerarli. (P. Metastasio, *Tutte le opere*, vol. III, p. 744.)*

Tratto saliente più caratteristico del testo citato è, sotto l'aspetto sintattico-stilistico, l'uso di esclamazioni e interrogazioni sia in forma di sostantivi isolati come: *O povera umanità! Ma Dio buono! Dunque rassegnazione e pazienza!* sia in forma di frasi complete e strutturate secondo le norme della grammatica tradizionale: *perché mai queste delizie* (cioè: *i dolori e le malattie non vanno addosso a tanti asini*; oppure: *chi regola il tutto avrà le sue ragioni*; quest'ultima frase deve essere considerata, senza dubbio, una frase esclamativa).

Inoltre, verso la fine del pezzo citato si nota persino un piccolo gioco verbale che deriva dal fatto che il Metastasio, da buon autore teatrale, si sente in dovere di coinvolgere direttamente il destinatario del suo scritto all'argomento che vuole esporre in veste di interlocutore ipotetico. Non contento dunque di palesare in frasi enunciative piane il suo pensiero, si rivolge al destinatario della lettera e lo riinventa come suo interlocutore, con una frase interrogativa: *Credete Voi ch'io sia rinvenuto ancora dalla sorpresa (...)?* e dà subito la ri-

sposta, visto che l'interlocutore lontano ne sarebbe impedito, immedesimandosi con costui; la risposta è però legata all'affermazione immaginaria e che il Metastasio suppone venga dall'interlocutore; con la risposta egli si oppone alla ipotetica manifestazione dell'interlocutore: *V'ingannate. Non rinverrò fin ch'io viva.*

Il Metastasio ha bisogno di questa finzione, perché solo in codesto modo riesce a spezzettare il periodare uniforme; introducendo interrogazioni e anche parole isolate, crea, al contempo una qualche tensione, perché distribuisce la comunicazione tra due personaggi, inventando gli elementi sostanziali del dialogo, pegno di una maggiore vivacità stilistica.

L'effetto *e m o t i v o* è dunque un fattore importante nello stile pro-sastico del Metastasio; si veda a questo riguardo il pezzo seguente in cui la prontezza e l'elasticità del periodare sono assicurate non solo dal lungo elenco di sostantivi esclamativi, ma anche da un sintagma infinitivale, in sostituzione del verbo coniugato e che dobbiamo qualificare pure per esclamativo.

Dunque son così preziosi i vostri caratteri, che non si può aspirare ad ottenerli senza averli prima sospirati per alcune olimpiadi? *Oh barbaro! ah ingrato! ah tigre ircana! aspidi sordo! gatto pardo! tarantola di Puglia!* In tanti e tanti mesi *né pur venirvi* in capo di farmi sapere se siate vivo! Io credo che l'acqua del Manzanare sia l'onda di Lete, e che voi vi sguazziate dentro come una trota. Credo che vi siate affatto dimenticato il mio nome. (*op. cit.*, vol. III, P. 393; 28/V/1749.)

Sono da collegarsi con la vivacità e la prontezza del linguaggio un'altra peculiarità strutturale del Metastasio che si manifesta nella soppressione totale di congiunzioni, idonee a marcare il rapporto logico tra le frasi in cui l'espressione di esse sarebbe pure concepibile, nonostante il periodare semplice e piano, privo di formule complicate. Risulta una giustapposizione di brevissime frasi che sono spesso di una o di due parole; si tratta di una sequenza di frasi scheletriche con lo scopo di conferire plasticità allo stile. Nell'esempio che segue, l'autore vuole raggiungere anche un secondo fine: il rapido succedersi di proposizioni giustapposte con l'assenza completa di congiunzioni crea un'impressione leggermente umoristica.

Oggi si celebra il nome del conte; domani la nascita della marchesa torna quell'amico; bisogna augurar buon viaggio; mademoiselle si sposa e si congratula (= ci si congratula); madama è di parto e si trotta. Un ministro è promosso *ad maiora*, un altro si fa applicare un cristiere (= clistere), *proficiat*: insomma fra queste incommode inezie, che si chiamano uffici civili (. . .) ci troviamo al fine della settimana stanchi, rifiniti, senza aver fatto cosa alcuna. (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 508.)

È indubbio che lo spezzettamento dei pensieri in piccole frasi dà un andamento efficace al contenuto, mettendo in risalto i riferimenti sarcastici attraverso la semplificazione e l'omissione dei nessi connettivi. Infatti, i concetti espressi mediante piccole frasi giustapposte possono essere collocati anche in unità fraseologiche di più largo respiro, facendo uso di congiunzioni che assicurano l'impalcatura strutturale. Citiamo per es. l'inizio del brano, nella tras-

formazione che segue; essa non ne altera il senso pur compromettendone il vigore stilistico:

Se oggi si celebra il nome del conte o se domani la nascita della marchesa o quando torna quell'amico, bisogna correre col benvenuto; e quando parte quell'altro, bisogna augurar buon viaggio (e così via di seguito).

Gasparo Gozzi nel suo *Epistolario* si avvicina allo stile del Metastasio; con il suo atteggiamento da letterato anch'egli è in cerca di soluzioni plastiche per conferire espressività al periodare di per sé semplice e piano. Anche per il Gozzi l'impiego di frasi esclamative e interrogative, nonché di parole isolate, in mezzo alle proposizioni prevalentemente enunciative, con scarsi sviluppi subordinativi, sembrava il mezzo più adatto per assicurare efficacia e vigore allo stile. Di lui citiamo un solo esempio, breve, ma tale da poter illustrare la scelta stilistica. Si noti inoltre il ripiegamento del Gozzi verso i piccoli episodi della vita comune, di ispirazione aneddotica, com'era, del resto, il caso del Metastasio, a un livello sociale più alto, con riferimento alla vita quotidiana di lui alla Corte di Vienna. Il Gozzi, scrivendo la sua lettera a un certo Clemente Sibiliato il 17/IV/1745 a Padova, coglie l'occasione per parlare di musica in chiesa, partendo dal pretesto di voler sentire cantare l'amico.

(...) mi venne un desiderio tale di sentirvi, che non so s'io potrò stare senza venire a Padova qualche giorno. *Apparecchiate la dolcissima gola! Crudele! ché* (= perché) *non mi vi siete fatto udire quando ci vedemmo? Non mi scamperete mai!* Oh come mi sarei consolato, se avessi potuto sentirvi ieri o ier l'altro. Oh quanto avreste temperato del fastidio che ho ricevuto dalla rovina di queste benedette tabelle (= battole) che hanno dato cambio alle benedette campane! *È possibile che Dio si debba lodare con istrumenti così sciagurati?* Cavate quel poco d'organo per le chiese, non sentite altro che campanelluzze, picchiamenti e stordimenti. *Perché al Signore non si riserbano i flauti, i violini, i mandolini e simili gentilezze?* Per Dio benedetto, che se a messa chiamassero con un'arpa, s'io non andassi a sei messe il dì, sia frustato! *Ma quelle campane, Gesù Maria!* In somma Dio ha sempre la feccia di tutto, da noi altri insensati. Se c'è un buon cantore, va pei bordelli; un castrato che canta, anzi ché stridere come un sorcio, si mette in una cappella, e così il Credo, il Gloria e i Salmi vanno in bocca di gatti; e chi vorrebbe far del bene non può per non andare a rischio d'essere assordato. Ma io non ci posso rimediare, e non giova il parlarne. Basta; ché la prima volta che vi rivedrò, intendo d'essere ristorato de' miei danni. (G. Gozzi: *Scritti scelti*, a cura di N. Mangini, UTET, 1967, pp. 687—86.)

Il pezzo citato non ha bisogno di molta spiegazione: esso si presenta come un susseguirsi di frasi emotive, fondate sull'esclamazione e sull'interrogazione, frammiste a parole staccate, isolate, cariche anch'esse di tensione emotiva. La preferenza che si dà alle frasi esclamative fa sì che si elimini per es. la subordinata ipotetica con la rispettiva congiunzione:

Cavate quel poco d'organo per le chiese = *Se (nel caso che) quando caviate quel poco d'organo per le chiese ecc.*

Si notino anche gli avverbi o pronomi esclamativi:

Oh come mi sarei consolato ecc.; *Oh quanto* avreste temperato del fastidio ecc. *Ma quelle* campane, Gesù Maria!

Il costante ritorno di *benedetto* è pure un connotato affettivo.

5. Le strutture sintattiche, rilevate negli epistolari precedenti, saranno completate con nuove forme e soluzioni che daranno alla prosa italiana una configurazione tutta moderna, dai fratelli Verri, Pietro e Alessandro, nel loro *Carteggio*, iniziato alla fine del 1768 e alimentato fino alla morte di Pietro, avvenuta nel 1797. L'edizione, interrotta nel 1942, non fu continuata, salvo alcuni contributi di poche lettere inedite. Gli anni roventi, quelli che vanno dal 1782 alla morte di Pietro, non sono stati portati finora a conoscenza del pubblico.

Alessandro si vide costretto ad abbandonare il tetto natale per screzi che ebbe nell'ambiente familiare e per contrasti con il padre, troppo severo e tradizionalista. Risulta dalle lettere molta riserva nei confronti del padre e verso altri membri della famiglia; Pietro cerca di smorzare tale atteggiamento e più d'una volta richiama il fratello a vivere con essi, a Milano, ma senza risultato. Dopo il viaggio di breve durata in Francia e Inghilterra, Alessandro si stabilisce a Roma e vi resta fino alla morte, avvenuta nel 1815.

Al carteggio dà omogeneità il collimare degli interessi culturali e politici dei due fratelli, provenienti dall'esperienza del *Caffé*, uscito tra il maggio del 1764 e il giugno del 1766. Il contatto epistolare prende inizio per l'appunto nell'autunno del 1766, quando Alessandro lascia Milano, in compagnia di Cesare Beccaria, altro esponente di rilievo del Circolo del *Caffé*. Meta del loro viaggio è Parigi, dove si separano. Alessandro continua il viaggio e si dirige a Londra, destinazione preferita di tanti viaggiatori dei decenni seguenti. Al ritorno evita Milano facendo tappa per mare, per trasferirsi a Roma, dove si stabilisce definitivamente.

Pietro rimane a Milano e continua la sua ascesa nella carriera amministrativa che aveva intrapreso già dopo il suo ritorno dalla guerra dei Sette anni. Carriera amministrativa indicava anche lotta per i provvedimenti da adottare per realizzare una liberalizzazione dell'economia del Ducato, con varie riforme puntate contro i fermieri, nome dato agli appaltatori delle imposte dirette dello Stato, i quali le riscuotevano per conto loro, anticipandone somme rilevanti ai governanti.

Le varie tappe della sua attività sono ben note e sono state studiate con i successi che aveva avuto e con gli insuccessi che aveva dovuto subire. Ma le vicende della sua attività di riformista economico-amministrativa si rispecchiano anche nel suo *Carteggio*,⁴ specchio fedele, d'altronde, anche degli avvenimenti storici, aneddotici, collegati ai personaggi del Ducato di Milano, degli stati vicini, per es. Parma e della Corte di Vienna.

Non è compito nostro entrare nell'intricato problema dei rapporti di Pietro con Vienna, né tanto meno quello di indagare la sua concezione sull'as-

⁴ Recentemente Elena Sala ha dedicato un'analisi importante ai criteri storici, allo studio delle opere di Pietro Verri, ma l'*Epistolario* è stato citato solo per illustrare alcune affermazioni relative ad altre opere.

solutismo illuminato. Dal Carteggio, fino al 1782, ultimo anno pubblicato in volume, risulta una grande simpatia per Maria Teresa, per le riforme intraprese dall'Imperatrice. Basti leggere le sue lettere scritte in occasione della morte dell'Imperatrice avvenuta il 29 novembre del 1780. Ne citiamo un solo periodo, di lapidaria semplicità, caratteristica, tra l'altro, dello stile di Pietro:

L'afflizione è generale, ed era un tenero spettacolo l'affollamento alle chiese. Maria Teresa era adorata dai Milanesi (Verri, *Carteggio*, vol. XI, p. 203; anno 1780).

Infatti, Pietro attribuiva le angherie che doveva subire, più che alla Corte di Vienna, agli intrighi dei colleghi italiani, con vari poteri nell'apparato burocratico nel Ducato. Anche di questo si conserva ampia testimonianza nel Carteggio.

La posizione di Alessandro era diversa; rispondeva sì a Pietro, quando questi lo ragguagliava delle vicende della sua carriera e di eventi storici spesso di carattere anedddotico; ma esprimeva anche il suo parere, completando le notizie con nuovi particolari. Ma il grande viaggiatore era lui, che si era allontanato dal tetto natio. Nelle lettere di Alessandro, più che in quelle di Pietro prevale il carattere impressionistico, la visione del nuovo, che lo colpisce e spesso il pittoresco, lo strano o perfino il grottesco, com'è il caso della caduta da cavallo di papa Clemente XIV il 26 novembre del 1769, giorno in cui egli, neoeletto, andò a San Giovanni Laterano per prendere possesso della sua diocesi. Sempre di questo genere è la descrizione dello scorrazzare della «truppa di buoi» nella Via dei Due Macelli a Roma, e via di seguito.

Pietro, pur non rifiutandosi di dare annotazioni interessanti di avvenimenti coloriti, per es. sull'apertura del Teatro alla Scala a Milano nel 1778, sulle rappresentazioni teatrali alle quali assistette, sui balli di corte, ha sempre conservato un maggior interesse per i fatti politici, economici, amministrativi del Ducato, ai quali partecipò attivamente.

Rispetto al Muratori, attento osservatore di fatti storici, da lui registrati spesso a scopo di informazione, e anche interlocutore dotto di discussioni storiche, archeologiche, scientifiche, svolte con studiosi italiani e anche con stranieri, per es. con il Leibniz, e anche rispetto a Scipione Maffei, erudito, letterato, autore di opere teatrali, indagatore dei manoscritti e documenti non ancora divulgati e delle origini etrusche della propria città, Verona, non parlando poi del Metastasio, tutto rivolto alle sue preoccupazioni di ordine estetico e alle vicende esteriori di Corte e di Gasparo Gozzi, dedicato alla famiglia, all'ambiente cittadino e campagnolo e ai piccoli divertimenti di tutti i giorni, i Verri sono più divertenti, più spregiudicati e anche più audaci nel criticare. E ciò si capisce: i Verri provenivano dall'agiata aristocrazia lombarda, legata d'interessi alla nuova industria che si stava sviluppando dopo la letargia precedente nella nuova compagine statale capeggiata da Maria Teresa e suo figlio, Giuseppe II. La maggior apertura si manifesta anche sul livello della

sintassi e dello stile nel senso che l'alleggerimento delle strutture aumenta con l'intensificazione delle presenze dei costrutti paratattici, fondati sui vari usi dell'apposizione.

Acquista una notevole dimensione la *d e s c r i z i o n e*, che è appena presente nelle lettere dei vari autori o nella prosa storica sia del Muratori sia di altri storiografi. Compaiono in numero non insignificante i ritratti di persone e la descrizione di oggetti, ambienti e anche di paesaggi. Sviluppo questo dovuto al gusto estetico maturato negli ultimi decenni in seguito al trionfo dell'erudizione che si fondava sulle scoperte scientifiche, sugli scavi archeologici, sulla ricerca delle verità concrete. Infatti anche già in Parini e in tanti altri poeti del Settecento, si individua una predilezione per la riproduzione realistica degli oggetti e per la minuziosa descrizione dei dettagli concreti. Ed è doveroso rimandare, a questo proposito, all'articolo del Fubini, intitolato: *Elementi scientifici del lessico poetico del Parini*, apparso nel 1969 sul «Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana.»

L'atteggiamento contemplativo-descrittivo nella poesia si estende ai più svariati atteggiamenti e fenomeni: persone, oggetti, scene della vita; un banchetto, la partenza, un incontro amoroso, una rappresentazione teatrale, e così via.⁵

Gli scrittori e i prosatori di gusti raffinati, aperti agli indizi estetici, avevano mezzi stilistici più appropriati per mettere in evidenza persone, oggetti, paesaggi e altri aspetti della vita. La loro ricerca si indirizzava a dare una maggiore incisività alla parole importanti, a quelle cioè che avevano ruolo determinante nella rappresentazione. Procedimento questo che porta alla soppressione o alla riduzione dei nessi di legamento, i quali servono al mantenimento delle strutture gradazionali, fondate sull'impalcatura logica della grammatica, intesa come istituzione per consentire alla lingua di svolgere la sua funzione di comunicazione.

Nel *Carteggio* dei fratelli Verri si osservano quindi due fenomeni sintattici paralleli; il primo è la continuazione e l'allargamento con nuovi accorgimenti del fatto linguistico, rilevato fin dall'*Epistolario* del Muratori: la frase ellittica, che acquista nuove dimensioni presso i Verri. Si noteranno, infatti, in numero molto maggiore rispetto al Muratori frasi con i sostantivi a cui sono coordinati aggettivi o participi passati; e sostantivi con un complemento avverbiale, solitamente di luogo, ma anche di altro tipo. E si noteranno inoltre frasi ellittiche fondate sull'uso dei sostantivi astratti, completati eventualmente con complementi di specificazione, introdotti dalla preposizione *di*, non ricorrenti nell'*Epistolario* muratoriano. L'altro fenomeno sintattico si riferirà, come vedremo, ai vari tipi di descrizione, fondati sugli usi particolari dell'apposizione.

⁵ Idee largamente diffuse nella critica letteraria; basti rimandare alle numerose opere a riguardo di Walter Binni.

A. Cominciamo col presentare gli esempi di frasi ellittiche; l'esempio che segue, contiene sostantivi corredati con il participio passato.

A Parma vi sono novità; le dovresti qui sapere meglio di me; a buon conto le dico. *La marchesa Malaspina esiliata; il padre Paciaudi, bibliotecario relegato in un convento; persone attaccatissime a monsieur Tillot, il quale scrive qui in Roma che si aspetta la disgrazia (Verri, Carteggio, vol. IV, p. 228; anno 1771).*

Si noti anche il rapporto che intercorre tra le due frasi ellittiche e quelle che le introducono. Alessandro, autore della lettera, poteva stabilire un collegamento grammaticale con l'introduzione; non lo ha fatto, perché voleva conseguire un effetto drammatico con la rottura e con il far risaltare i nudi fatti accaduti nel Ducato di Parma, dopo l'estromissione del ministro Tillot da governo.

Anche nell'esempio che segue, prevale lo scopo stilistico; si succedono quattro proposizioni ellittiche; le tre sono costruite con il participio passato, il quarto contiene un complemento di luogo. Chi scrive, è Pietro; esprime la sua soddisfazione rispetto a come andavano le cose dieci anni prima e constata che ora tutto è cambiato. Quando giunge a dire le cose più notevoli, ecco che alle novità di contenuto si accompagna il cambiamento sintattico, con il tralasciare dei predicati verbali, con il mettere in risalto le cose essenziali: un restringimento, una concentrazione su quello che è la cosa più importante. Ed infatti, per Pietro, la lotta contro i fermieri, cioè contro gli appaltatori di imposte, la limitazione del potere del clero, l'ammodernamento dell'Università erano di vitale interesse, come risultano dai suoi scritti di vario carattere.

A guardare tranquillamente le cose come sono io vedo che il nostro piccolo sistema politico è passato dal torpore al bollimento. Dieci anno sono, non v'era impiego se non per i curiali (. . .) Allor le scienze erano dimenticate e odiate; ora ne' dispacci si parla di conduttori per salvare le fabbriche dai fulmini (. . .); ora il Governatore non può risolvere nulla da sé, ma deve essere segnato da un de' Consultori. (. . .) *Le Ferme proscritte, i frati tollerati precariamente, di mano in mano aboliti i conventi. Le Università in bollimento; in una parola vi resta intatto il nostro Duomo, il rimanente tutto è mutato, le leggi patrie sono diventate un vero oggetto d'erudizione (ibid., vol. V, p. 172; anno 1772).*

All'ottimismo manifestato da Pietro nel 1772, fa riscontro una sua lettera, scritta due anni prima da Milano al fratello a Roma. In questa lettera si lagna per alcune misure limitative; e proprio quando rileva le misure negative, il tono cambia: diventa concitato, cadono i nessi di legame, rimangono in piedi i sostantivi, pilastri della comunicazione, con la carica semantica rafforzata.

Il passo è importante anche per la sequenza di sostantivi astratti, i quali si completano con complementi di specificazione, uno dei quali funge da soggetto. Dei tre astratti vanno messi in rilievo il secondo e il terzo, perché hanno valore verbale e sostituiscono proposizioni principali. La presenza di sostantivi astratti verbali nella prosa settecentesca, in funzione di frasi autonome

con valore abbreviativo, è un fenomeno nel quale ci si imbatte raramente, persino nella prosa artistica di notevole scioltezza.

Credi, Sandrino mio, che noi abbiamo dato molti passi velocissimamente indietro. *Rigori sulle stampe eccessive, sindacato per l'introduzione de' libri, accuse d'empietà, ritrattazione di Longo, «Lanterna curiosa» che abbraccia Frisi, Lambertenghi e me; tutti que' pochi cittadini, che avevano cercato di far onore al paese e d'illuminarlo, sono ora alla berlina, e i frati, i bigotti, e gli asini sono in trionfo. Credi tu che ora si potrebbe stampare il Caffé (ibid., vol. III, p. 190; anno 1770).*

Anche l'esempio seguente contiene sostantivi astratti e concreti, accompagnati da aggettivi o da participi passati con valore aggettivale, ugualmente in funzione attributiva. Nel secondo sintagma si ha il complemento di luogo che segue il sostantivo: costruito molto vicino a quelli sinora analizzati. Ma nuovo è invece il rapporto tra la serie di sostantivi e la parte introduttiva.

Il costruito paratattico, con la sequenza di sostantivi liberati dagli elementi connettivi prospetta per il futuro eventi che poggiano sui precedenti, espressi nell'introduzione. Il rapporto può essere considerato come causa ed effetto, mentre negli esempi precedenti si trattava di contemporaneità, cioè di presentazione di fatti e azioni simultanei all'introduzione. Il rapporto in quei casi è esplicativo.

Ecco infina tutto finito, e, se considererai tranquillamente, finito bene. *Buon soldo, pubblica stima nel paese ed a Vienna; autorità non diminuita, anzi accresciuta, perché prima non eri che membro dell'amministrazione ed ora sei capo. (ibid., vol. IV, p. 252; anno 1771.)*

Tale tipo si riscontra abbondantemente nelle opere persino scientifiche di Pietro Verri, per es. nella *Storia di Milano*. Citiamo un solo esempio caratteristico che si differenzia da quelli provenienti dalle *Lettere* per il gran numero di sostantivi, corredati di participi passati. Il rapido susseguirsi di sostantivi, seguiti da participi e il fatto che tutti i sostantivi provvisti dei relativi participi appoggino come apposizioni a un unico sostantivo precedente che sono destinati a determinare e a caratterizzare, conferisce al discorso un andamento spigliato, sciolto, facile anche perché i legamenti logici sono taciuti e al posto della ipotassi è subentrato il cumulo di elementi nominali, senza marcare il rapporto logico.

(...) a mirare il complesso delle azioni di Federico, da un certo lato ci si presenta *un quadro maestoso e seducente* (...). L'Italia sommersa (= sottomessa); un re dato all'Ungheria; un altro re dato alla Boemia; un terzo re dato alla Sardegna; il marchese d'Austria creato duca; il regno della Polonia fatto tributario; il conte palatino e l'arcivescovo di Magonza castigati; la Baviera assegnata a un nuovo padrone; la Sassonia donata ad un altro; il Tirolo staccato dalla Baviera; la Stiria eretta in ducato; la fermezza delle azioni e del discorso tenuto ai Romani; tutta questa folla di grandiosi avvenimenti certamente presenta un non so che di augusto e d'imponente. (P. Verri, *Storia di Milano* II, p. 26; ed. Dall'Oglio, Milano, 1962.)

La sequenza di sostantivi, corredati da participi predicativi si appoggia al nome collocato nella proposizione principale antecedente: *un quadro maestoso e seducente*. Spigliatezza e rapidità caratterizzano l'esempio che diventa movi-

mentato anche per il fatto che ai sintagmi apposizionali non sono congiunte subordinate, e così tutti i sintagmi sono molto brevi. Comunque, la costruzione apposizionale rende superfluo l'uso delle parole connettive e il periodo tradizionalmente organizzato scompare. Al posto del periodo è subentrata la sequenza di nomi, atti a esprimere con duttilità i diversi pensieri.

B. Un ulteriore alleggerimento delle strutture si osserva nei casi in cui, accanto ai nuclei in qualche modo organizzati, appaiono sostantivi isolati, inseriti tra le proposizioni ellittiche. I sostantivi isolati possono essere presi per apposizioni, destinate a stabilire un rapporto di qualificazione e determinazione nei confronti di un sostantivo che precede o segue. Si osservi il passo proveniente dalla lettera di Pietro che parla del matrimonio di una figlia di Maria Teresa.

Tutti i ministri di Vienna sono ritornati a Milano. Vi è il Duca. Le feste saranno opera di Metastasio, messa in musica dal Sassone,⁶ Ruggiero e Bradamante, cantata di Parini. *Varie rappresentazioni gratis colle loggie servite da rinfreschi, Cucagna, corsa de' barberi, cinquecento matrimoni con dieci zecchini di dote, denari gettati al popolo, facchinate ecc.*; eccoti le feste. Il matrimonio si farà il giorno di S. Teresa (*ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 251—52; anno 1771).

Cucagna, corsa di barberi, facchinate: ecco i sostantivi isolati, non organizzati in mezzo alle proposizioni ellittiche; questi sostantivi si collegano al nome che ricorre all'inizio e verso la fine del passo: *feste*. Evidente che anche le proposizioni ellittiche servono a qualificare le feste, ma esse hanno un nucleo predicativo autonomo, presentano l'aspetto di frasi strutturate e articolate negli elementi essenziali; sono individuabili in esse il sintagma predicativo, con il soggetto, accompagnato da un aggettivo o participio passato o qualche complemento avverbale.

6. I sostantivi isolati conservano a mala pena il carattere di frase autonoma, perché mancano gli elementi fraseologici che concorrono alla costituzione del sintagma predicativo. Fanno eccezione i sostantivi *isolati astratti a base verbale*: in tali casi il predicato verbale permane sotto forma morfologica diversa, sotto la forma cioè di un sostantivo, e quindi la ricostruzione della frase e del sintagma predicativo avviene più facilmente.

(...); poi ebbe convulsioni fortissime; poi non faceva che piangere e disperarsi; rivedendo padre, fratelli ecc. nuovo *scoppio di lagrime* (Verri, *Carteggio*, vol. VI, p. 42; anno 1773).

Il sostantivo isolato *scoppio* sostituisce il verbo *scoppiare* e quindi la frase ricostituita suonerebbe così: *Scoppiò di nuovo in lacrime*. Ma i sostantivi astratti a base verbale ricorrono per lo più in compagnia di altri tipi di sostantivi o anche elencati in mezzo a frasi ellittiche. Porteremo un esempio molto espres-

⁶ Il Sassone è H e s s e, amico personale di Metastasio e nemico delle riforme di Gluck.

sivo, in seguito, dopo aver esaminato l'uso dei sostantivi *concreti*, disposti paratatticamente, in funzione di apposizione.

I sostantivi concreti si appoggiano, di solito, a un nome precedente: un personaggio o un oggetto o un paesaggio per essere qualificati e determinati. Si vedrà che in alcuni casi essi si possono spostare a una certa distanza, assumendo quindi una notevole autonomia. L'espressività e l'efficacia sono assicurate in primo luogo dall'assenza dei legami connettivi, ma anche dalla distanza dell'apposizione dalla frase contenente il sostantivo da determinare. I contenuti semantici si evidenziano, attirando maggiormente l'attenzione del lettore, per l'appunto a causa dell'uso sintattico insolito.

Si tratta di un procedimento stilistico emotivo, nella costituzione del quale i fattori contenutistici hanno avuto una parte notevole. Si veda per esempio un passo proveniente da una lettera del Muratori, il quale, come si è già detto, non ammetteva nel suo *Epistolario* ritratti di persone o descrizione di cose che anche in altri suoi scritti compaiono solo sporadicamente.

Il passo rivela l'indignazione che il Muratori sentiva quando nel gennaio del 1743 volevano acquartierare una compagnia di soldati austriaci nella sua nuova villa; ed ecco che la costruzione della frase cambia, subentra un leggero spezzettamento causato dalla scomparsa dei nessi di collegamento, sicché emerge un sostantivo in apposizione, sostanzialmente identico a quello che deve determinare.

In questo medesimo punto che scrivo, mi vengono a dire che vogliono mettere una compagnia di soldati nel mio casino di villa; *casino nuovo*; il che se succede, me lo rovinano tutto (Muratori: *Epistolario*, vol. X, p. 4378; 20 gennaio 1743).

Si osservi la ripresa del sostantivo come apposizione, con riferimento al medesimo sostantivo che figura nella frase precedente. L'apposizione ha, accanto a sé, un aggettivo qualificativo che riempie, senza dubbio, la funzione predicativa, per cui l'apposizione si avvicina a una frase ellittica. Il riferimento al sostantivo precedente è innegabile; si tratta della qualificazione e della maggiore determinazione di quello.

L'esempio del Muratori fa capire in forma succinta la genesi di tale tipo abbreviativo, nato sotto la spinta di condizioni emotive. È stato trovato, infatti, il metodo sintattico efficace che svilupperà, successivamente, la sua dimensione autonoma. L'esempio muratoriano segna l'inizio di due tipi sintattici: nel primo si mantiene il connotato emotivo che abbiamo visto manifestarsi nell'esempio precedente, anzi l'emotività si accentua ulteriormente con l'aggiunta di una sfumatura esclamativa, con la quale si esprime un giudizio o una valutazione relativi alle proposizioni precedenti. Infatti, in questo primo tipo le apposizioni hanno una funzione esplicativa, perché riprendono situazioni, fatti, contenuti precedenti, in forma concisa ed elegante, senza che l'autore abbia bisogno di usare frasi complete con la solita impalcatura grammaticale:

Anche da noi s'è sparsa la voce che sia per abolirsi la compagnia. Ma si vuole che i reverendi abbiano una bolla in tasca, in virtù della quale preventivamente si dichiara nulla qualunque abolizione e legittima, la Società, quantunque per la miseria dei tempi debba restare occulta. *Miserabile astuzia*, che non impedirà la estinzione d'un corpo reso invisibile e di nessun credito nella opinione. (*Verri, Carteggio*, vol. I/2, p. 344; anno 1768.)

L'esempio citato contiene un'apposizione esplicativa con notevole emotività. Si tratta dell'abolizione della Società di Gesù, ma solo al cospetto del mondo. Come risulta dal testo, i gesuiti ufficialmente aboliti, avrebbero continuato a esistere in virtù di una bolla revocatoria. È di qui l'indignazione di Pietro, espressa con un'apposizione esclamativa di particolare concisione, nella quale si manifesta l'insoddisfazione nei confronti del fatto storico esposto.

Nell'esempio seguente si verifica il medesimo atto mentale: giudizio conciso ed espressivo nei confronti dei fatti esposti nelle proposizioni precedenti e carica emotiva concentrata nell'unica parola che è l'apposizione. È la descrizione della traversata di Alessandro del Canale della Manica.

(...) fui tutto bagnato dalle impetuose onde e gustai mio malgrado le salse acque dell'Oceano. Finita la tempesta in due ore e mutatosi il vento in favorevole, fra poco entrammo in Calais. *Fortunati*, perché, se tardavamo mezz'ora, avremmo avuta un'altra tempesta fortissima (*ibid.*, vol. I/2, p. 399; anno 1768).

Tale tipo di apposizione, che possiamo chiamare esplicativo-emotiva, è stato documentato presso altri scrittori del Settecento nel nostro citato studio «*La struttura del periodo nel Settecento*.»⁷ Il *Carteggio* dei fratelli Verri è fonte preziosa di questo fenomeno.

7. Gli esempi che qui abbiamo trattato sono efficaci per la loro brevità ed emotività. Il procedimento, tipo sintattico abbreviativo, ricompare nella descrizione di personaggi, di oggetti e di paesaggi. Si possono osservare diverse fasi: in quella iniziale il sintagma apposizionale messo dopo la frase interamente terminata, a notevole distanza dal sostantivo che deve determinare, è abbastanza riccamente sviluppato. Si hanno, di solito, complementi di specificazione e eventualmente anche altri sviluppi, come risulterà anche dall'esempio che segue.

Egli fece i doveri d'un cristiano, fece il suo testamento (...) volle che ciascuno andasse a dormire e di buon'ora la mattina chi entro nella stanza lo trovo morto. *Uomo di molta immaginazione, d'ingegno tardo, appassionato, ambizioso*, ma che faceva scarti continui, che distruggevano la fortuna; *d'una fermezza di animo a prova* che, se avesse cessato di vivere dieci anni prima, avrebbe fatto miglior figura (*Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 21; anno 1777).

Bisogna dar atto della presenza delle subordinate relative che sostituiscono aggettivi, sviluppandone il senso e allargando la mole del costruito, diminuiscono contemporaneamente, l'effetto incisivo del ritratto.

⁷ È un costruito che avrà una certa fortuna nella prosa contemporanea; cfr. Giulio Herzeg: *Apposizione o frasi nominali* In: *Lingua Nostra* XXV (1974), pp. 54—59. Esso si diffonde nella prosa giornalistica di oggi.

L'incisività vuole invece pochi sviluppi collaterali e rapidità; gli esempi di questo tipo rappresentano già una nuova tappa, notevole anche per l'uso di una serie di sostantivi che non fungono semanticamente come varianti del sostantivo da caratterizzare, ossia come una specie di alter ego, come altrettanti raddoppiamenti del sostantivo-base, ma sono collegati solo in forma secondaria e subordinativa al sostantivo centrale; si tratta, solitamente di rapporto tra l'intero e la parte.

Se l'autore avesse creato proposizioni complete, al posto dei sostantivi singoli elencati, avrebbe potuto usare il verbo *avere* come predicato verbale. Si osservi l'esempio seguente che inizia con la ripresa, sotto forma di apposizione, del sostantivo-base, che è *la signora Locatelli*; seguono altri sostantivi paratattici, subordinati al significato dell'apposizione.

Ieri ho parlato colla Locatelli madre e figlia e mi sono esattamente informato degl'interessi di cuore di V. S. Illma. *Dama grande, bel portamento, un po' studiato per altro, spirito assai, bianco e rosso quanto se ne vuole, amabile con tutto ciò amata sempre (ibid., vol. I/2, p. 1; anno 1767).*

Dama grande, ecco l'apposizione, che ricompare a notevole distanza dal sostantivo al quale si riferisce e acquista di per sé rilievo e forza espressiva, aumentata poi da due sostantivi che lo seguono, sostantivi questi che non denotano analogia con il sostantivo-base, ma ne indicano una parte; il rapporto è dunque quello della parte all'intero: *portamento* e *spirito*. Gli stessi aggettivi acquistano vigore, staccati come sono dal sostantivo-base: *bianco e rosso, amabile, amata*.

Nell'esempio che segue, la ripresa del sostantivo-base sotto forma di sostantivo non si verifica; è diverso il tipo di sostantivi paratattici, elencati uno dopo l'altro; si tratta di capi di vestiario e non dei tratti morali caratteristici del personaggio, com'era nell'esempio citato. È fuori dubbio che il rapporto tra il sostantivo-base e questi sostantivi è subordinativo: i capi di vestiario si integrano nel personaggio.

Dopo averti detto il bene ti diro anche il male, che mi pare di vedere. Una folla di giovinetti spensierati, occupatissimi de' loro ricci, *calzoni larghi e grossissimo collo*, impegnati a far credere d'aver quanti capelli non ha un cavallo nella coda, vegetano sfiorando leggermente tutto, e singolarmente si fanno un pregio di non dire mai una verità (*ibid., vol. IX, p. 52; anno 1777*).

Un'altra sfumatura è quella in cui nell'elencazione dei sostantivi apposizionali ricorre anche un complemento avverbiale in forma di proposizione ellittica.

Vi sono in Roma un mondo di forestieri, perché a Napoli non vi sono feste da ballo a motivo della gravidanza della regina. Fra li forestieri distinti vi è il conte Orloff, generale della flotta moscovita, che è un Marte di figura, grande, smisurato, ben fatto, *fisionomia civile ed un gran taglio di sciabola alla guancia dritta*. L'ho veduto vestito all'albanese ed era pittoresco (*ibid., vol. V, p. 37; anno 1772*).

Il sostantivo base del passo citato è *il conte Orloff, generale della flotta moscovita, un Marte di figura*. Le apposizioni hanno la funzione di qualificare e di determinare il personaggio. Si procede con il metodo della parte rispetto all'intero: infatti *fisionomia* si ricollega al soggetto mediante *avere*, com'era il caso di *bel portamento, spirito assai* in un esempio precedente. *Un gran taglio di sciabola alla guancia dritta* si presenta invece come una frase ellittica; ma di contenuto semantico particolare, perché si tratta di una parte del corpo, che l'autore vuole caratterizzare mettendo in evidenza un segno specifico in funzione modale-associativa.

Il procedimento sintattico si riscontra sporadicamente nella prosa del tempo anche fuori dei carteggi. Ecco come descriva l'Alfieri la contessa d'Albany, nel cap. quinto dell'*Epoca Quarta* della sua *Vita*, anno 1777;

L'impressione prima n'era rimasta negli occhi, e nella mente ad un tempo, piacevolissima. Un dolce focoso negli occhi nerissimi accoppiatosi (che raro addiviene) con candidissima pelle e biondi capelli, davano alla di lei bellezza un risalto, da cui difficile era di non rimanere colpito e conquiso. *Età di anni venticinque; molta propensione alle bell'arti e alle lettere, indole d'oro*; e, malgrado gli agi di cui abbondava, *penose e dispiacevoli circostanze domestiche*, che poco la lasciarono essere, come il dovea, avventurata e contenta (Alfieri, *Vita*, BUR 1960, p. 206).

Età, propensione, indole, circostanze, tutti nomi astratti che si riferiscono alla caratterizzazione *i n t e r i o r e* del personaggio. All'incontro, nell'esempio che segue, essi, tutti concreti, rappresentano il *f i s i c o*, l'aspetto *e s t e r i o r e* del protagonista:

Il sultano Abdul Hamed presentemente regnante e successore di Mustafa III, è di statura piuttosto grande che piccola, *naso prominente, ciglia folissime, guardatura fissa, viso allungato, barba parimenti folta e tinta artificiosamente in nero: fisionomia insomma marcatissima e tratti caricati d'indole dolce e umana*. (G. B. Casti: *Relazione di un viaggio a Costantinopoli*, in: *Letterati memorialisti viaggiatori del Settecento*, Ricciardi, 1960, p. 1040.)

Il procedimento tradizionale manca di espressività: i ritratti di tale tipo, pur essendo lineari grazie all'uso di proposizioni semplici, hanno bisogno dell'uso di *avere* o *essere*, di verbi incolori con funzione di predicati, accanto ai quali i sostantivi che denotano parti del corpo o del vestiario, hanno il ruolo di soggetti, o oggetti.

Vediamo come Alessandro Verri, usando lo stile tradizionale, descrive l'abate Galiani.

Egli è un piccolo abatuccio di figura, *ha* dei gesticoli napoletani curiosi, il muso buffone; e la lingua francese in sua bocca è una terza specie molto espressiva. Aggiungendo a ciò (. . .) varie migliaia di racconti in ogni materia, ne nasce un uomo, secondo me, affatto straordinario. (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 46; anno 1769.)

Segue uno dei rarissimi ritratti del Metastasio, datata a Vienna, il 28 maggio del 1749, lettera n° 313; esso mostra l'impianto tradizionale con frasi complete, regolarmente costruite, fondate appunto sull'uso dei verbi *avere* e *essere*, al pari dell'esempio citato di Alessandro Verri.

La ninfa raccomandata si chiama la signora Colomba Mattei; ella è romana: *dimostra* all'aspetto 22 o 23 anni al più. Canta il soprano, *ha* voce chiara, intonata, senza difetti, agilissima e *va* comodamente per due ottave dall'uno all'altro beml (= mi bemolle); *ha* un buon gusto nel metodo di portar la voce; la figura è proporzionata; *ha* molta abilità per recitare; non è brutta; *ha* bellissimi occhi; ed *ha* gran voglia di farsi onore. (Metastasio, *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 393.)

Tale procedimento ricorre già, sia pure a mo' d'eccezione, nella prosa pesante fondata sui periodi di largo respiro, del ferrarese Fulvio Testi (1593—1646), ambasciatore in varie Corti, autore di una vasto epistolario consistente, in parte, nei dispacci, mandati ai duchi estensi. Dalla lettera n° 1136, datata Madrid, 29/III/1636 proviene il brano seguente:

Il Conte Duca (per mandare a V. A. un vero ritratto della persona sua), è di statura ordinaria, se bene alquanto grosso e con un po' di pancia ancor egli. *Ha* la faccia larghetta, ma de' bei lineamenti; il colore è vivo e rubicondo; è *segnato* in qualche parte di morviglion; gli *mancano* alcuni denti dinanzi, ma questo difetto non gli apporta punto diformità; gli occhi *sono* neri, grandi a vivacissimi; *neri* sono i capelli, nera la barba et i mostacchi; l'una assai grande e gli altri assai lunghi. Gli anni, per quant'io credo, *sono* verso i cinquanta, ma non gli *mostra* perch'è robustissimo, né *ha* pur un pelo canuto. È di natura spiritosissimo, *sa* molto, *parla* bene, è libero di sensi, ma non senza prudenza e circospezione, *dà* segno in tutti i suoi ragionamenti di grandissima pietà, *mostra* verso il Re ossequio, riverenza incredibile, *professa* di differire ogni cosa al Consiglio, ma in fatti egli è l'arbitro assoluto di tutti i negozi, chi può e chi fa ciò che vuole. Dicono che *sia* iracondo e sospettoso, ma fino a quest'ora io non ne ho un riscontro al mondo e certo io tengo che *sia* d'ottima natura e l'ho in concetto d'un ministro isquisito e tutto trasformato negl'interessi del suo Re. (Fulvio Testi: *Epistolario*, a cura di M. L. Doglio, Bari 1967, vol. II, p. 628.)

Si tratta di un ritratto sviluppato, nel quale si mescolano ai tratti fisici e spirituali anche giudizi sul comportamento del personaggio, formulato con cura meticolosa, da parte dell'autore, il Testi, diplomatico attento che si sente in dovere di informare con il maggior numero di dettagli il Duca, suo padrone.

8. *Oggetti, ambienti, paesaggi.* Il carteggio dei Verri è in varie parti anche un diario di viaggi e di soggiorni con ampi orizzonti; in esso figurano innumerevoli personaggi, in relazione ai quali vengono annotati gli oggetti; e in più Alessandro ci fa partecipi delle sue esperienze nelle città che ha visitato. Le descrizioni paratattiche si estendono, ovviamente, anche su questi argomenti, anzi un determinato tipo, quando si tratta di caratterizzare un'opera letteraria, appare già nell'*Epistolario* del Muratori. L'esempio che portiamo fa vedere il sintagma apposizionale, collocato dopo il sostantivo al quale si riferisce; esso si accosta però a una proposizione ellittica.

Carissimi a me sempre sono i saluti dello stimatissimo signor Metastasio. Ultimamente ho letto l'ultimo suo dramma. *Bell'intreccio, felicemente condotto.* V'ha de' mirabili pezzi. Certo che l'Italia non ha oggidì chi l'uguagli, e né pur chi gli vada vicino (Muratori, *Epistolario*, vol. VIII, p. 3229; 1 gennaio 1743).

Somiglia all'esempio citato il seguente, proveniente dal *Carteggio* dei Verri, anche sotto l'aspetto del tipo di apposizione che si avvicina a una proposizione ellittica.

Moscatti stampa attualmente il suo corso di lezioni d'anatomia; vi è una prefazione scritta bene, le idee sono giuste, alcune anche non volgari, *molta armonia di stile* e stesa con naturalezza, forse vi è un po' di prolissità (Verri, *Carteggio*, vol. I/2, p. 129; anno 1768); Ho letto il manifesto di Parma; vi trovo molte cose, che non mi piacciono. *Uno stile di periodoni sterminati, molta superficialità* in punti, che meritano chiarimento e *una sorta di timidità*, che non conviene al sovrano (*ibid.*, vol. I/2, p. 363; anno 1767).

Ecco i sostantivi che sono stati qualificati: *dramma, prefazione, manifesto*; termini tecnici ricorrenti nella letteratura. E in che modo avviene la loro caratterizzazione? Le apposizioni non sono le varianti dei sostantivi-base, ma sono collegate in forma subordinativa ad essi e si tratta quindi del rapporto tra l'intero e la parte. Somigliano così ai tipi che sono stati trattati in relazione ai ritratti. Lo stesso uso subordinativo si osserva nell'esempio seguente che è la rappresentazione interessante di una scenetta cittadina.

Questa città è assai grande e bella. Il tutto ha l'aria mercantile. *Poche carrozze, pochissimo lusso, rarissime poste* di carrozza. La maggior parte va a piedi, col parasole sotto il braccio, con un paccone in mano, cappello in testa, abito succinto, tutt'al più con un leggero bordo d'oro e d'argento (*ibid.*, vol. I/1, p. 18; anno 1766).

Carrozze, lusso, poste hanno funzione subordinativa come apposizioni nei confronti dei sostantivi-base: Londra ossia l'aria mercantile di Londra. Si osserva inoltre un fatto sintattico di notevole interesse: l'uso di *con* in funzione di collegamento per presentare gli oggetti. Si tratta di una novità sintattica, che risale al secolo precedente, ma che comincia ad avere una certa diffusione nel Settecento e solo presso determinati scrittori. Ma altrettanto rara è la paratassi per introdurre personaggi, oggetti e paesi.

Bisogna tener conto, per esempio, del fatto che nei *Viaggi in Russia* di Francesco Algarotti, eminente stilista, dal periodare lineare, semplice, chiaro, la paratassi non è registrata affatto nella presentazione di personaggi; si ha un solo esempio in cui l'autore usa la paratassi per descrivere il paesaggio. Lo citiamo perché, come abbiamo visto nell'*Epistolario* del Muratori, non molto anteriore, anzi in alcune parti contemporaneo alle opere dell'Algarotti, la paratassi descrittiva non ricorre.

Dopo aver vogato parecchie ore, non altro vedendoci intorno che l'acqua, e quel tacito e brutto bosco, ecco che volta il fiume, a né più né meno che all'Opera, ci si apre dinanzi in un modo subito la scena di un'imperial città. *Suntuosi edifizi sull'una e l'altra riva del fiume*, chegruppano insieme; *torri con aguglia dorata* che vanno qua e la piramidando; *navi*, che cogli alberi e colle loro sventolanti banderuole rompono co' casamenti e distinguono le masse dal quadro. Quello è l'Ammiragliato, ci dicono, e l'Arsenale; quella la cittadella, là è l'Accademia; da questa parte il Palagio d'inverno della Czarina (Fr. Algarotti: *Viaggio in Russia*, Einaudi 1942, a cura di P. P. Trompeo, p. 31).

La nave dell'Algarotti arriva a Pietroburgo, l'odierna Leningrado; si apre la scena sulla città, capitale della Russia; vengono elencati paratatticamente: *suntuosi edifizi, torri, navi*, tre sostantivi che non sono legati strutturalmente alla proposizione precedente, perché è subentrata la rottura con cui si

vuole valorizzare il contenuto semantico dei singoli sostantivi, dando loro rilievo e risalto.

Si parte con una frase ellittica: *suntuosi edifici sull'una e l'altra riva del fiume*: qui manca solo il predicato verbale, che è la copula. *Torri e navi* sono d'altronde già sostantivi staccati da una compagine organizzata, cioè dalla frase completa. È da rilevare, inoltre, la presenza di sostantivi concreti, collegati ai nomi, mediante la preposizione *con*; si tratta di funzione, come abbiamo or ora detto, di collegamento generico: *aguglia, cioè guglia è dorata, alberi, banderuole sventolanti*.

Si tratta di un pezzo quasi impressionistico, scaturito dall'ammirazione dell'autore per tradurre stilisticamente il sentimento di stupore, provocato dalla vista della grande metropoli. Bisogna far presente che l'aggiunta delle proposizioni relative complete ai sostantivi indica la fase di transizione; sostantivi isolati senza nessun riferimento al verbo, in situazione non organizzata, devono essere apparsi a quel tempo ancora come sgrammaticature da evitare. La comparsa dei sintagmi modali-associativi, introdotti dalla preposizione *con* prelude a un certo tipo di periodi, nei quali i legamenti grammaticali tradizionali, i predicati verbali in primo luogo, scompaiono per lasciar vedere solo le parti portatrici di sensazioni, al solito, di carattere concreto, visivo e più raramente di carattere astratto. Procedimento questo sfruttato soprattutto quando si tratta di ritratti e quando gli scrittori vogliono rappresentare un elevato numero di tratti caratteristici sia esteriori che interiori in modo plastico, mettendoli in evidenza con la elencazione parattattica di sostantivi, preceduti da *con*. Tale metodo si coglie bene nell'esempio, proveniente dalle *Memorie inutili* di Carlo Gozzi; si intravede anche la possibilità ad esso inerente di cadere nell'esagerato, quando cioè il numero dei sintagmi modali-associativi introdotti da *con* supera il limite consentito dal buon senso. Il lungo periodo che citeremo si fonda su una struttura portante semplice: *soggetti + un solo predicato*; tuttavia esso si estende oltre misura, perché ogni soggetto, un nome proprio, è completato con un sintagma modale-associativo che ha la funzione di caratterizzare interiormente il personaggio tramite qualche sostantivo astratto; la lunga filza di sintagmi nominali vengono poi riuniti in un unico predicato verbale.

Tuttavia la contessa di Nola co' suoi puntigli, le sue stravaganze, le sue bizzarrie; la marchesa di Taranto *con* la sua flemma e le sue finte semplicità; Alessandro gran cancelliere *con* le sue infuocate gelosie; don Carlo amico del duco, *colle* sue critiche pungenti, sincere e morali; il duca *colle* sue titubanze tra l'amore e l'amicizia; Garbo camariere del duca, imbreigliato ne' capricci delle femmine, *colle* sue facezie satiriche; Lisa damigella della contessa di Nola *colle* sue zelanti prediche alla padrona, *divertivano*, ma veramente il personaggio del don Adone, più freddo episodio degli altri, ad ogni uscita cagionava una procella di acclamazioni con mio estremo rammarico. (*Letterati ecc., op. cit., p. 404.*)

Il passo si riferisce alla rappresentazione della commedia di Carlo Gozzi, intitolata, *Le droghe d'amore*, nella quale fu messo in scena negli abiti di don Adone, Pier Antonio Gratarol, segretario del Senato.

Tornando alla descrizione dei paesaggi ed ambienti, bisognerà fare il nome di Giambattista Biffi, cremonese (1736—1807), il quale, laureatosi a Pavia nel 1760, si trasferì a Milano ed entrò a contatto con coloro che cominciarono a radunarsi attorno ai Verri e a Beccaria, e fece parte dell'Accademia dei Pugni. Sembra che non abbia scritto invece nel *Caffé* a causa di temi da lui proposti poco adatti per la censura. Riteniamo molto importanti dal punto di vista stilistico le sue *Lettere itinerarie* contenenti i suoi viaggi a Venezia (1773), a Genova (1774), in Piemonte e in Francia (1776) e l'esempio che segue, proviene appunto da una lettera che narra il suo viaggio a Venezia. La maggior parte delle *Lettere* non è stata pubblicata ancora, a quanto noi sappiamo, a differenza del *Diario*, prezioso esso pure sotto l'aspetto stilistico, ma privo di esempi relativi alla descrizione di luoghi e ambienti. Il *Diario* è importante per l'uso speciale di sintagmi apposizionali prolettici, di cui parleremo più avanti. L'esempio che segue contiene la rappresentazione pittoresca di uno scorcio di Venezia.

Fui nel mezzo di alla piazza di Cambio, dove si radunano i mercanti. Si figuri un triplice maestoso portico marmoreo, d'ordine toscano, in mezzo al mare. Il ponte di Rialto che attraversa Canal Grande comunica colla città un'estesissima infilata di palazzoni da una banda. *Navi innumerabili d'ogni bandiera là sott'occhio. Una folla di turchi, d'arabi, di greci, di persiani, d'inglesi, di francesi, di tedeschi* quasi d'ogni nazione, *mercanti che* scrivono e contrattano con un'aria d'interessamento e d'affari rilevanti in volto. *E turbanti, e perrucche, e capelli, e teste rase, e barbe, e zimarre, e tabarri, e pelliccie*, tutto misto e intrecciato, dirò così. Sorge dietro il gran portico un Palazzo detto i *S c r i g n i*, ov'è il tesoro pubblico ed ove si deposita l'oro de' privati. (*Illuministi italiani, Riformatori lombardi e piemontesi e toscani*, vol. III, 1958, pp. 391—2.)

Un quadro di tinte impressionistiche, con l'assoluto prevalere dei sostantivi sui verbi. Il pezzo si divide in due parti; la seconda si inizia con una frase ellittica, breve, con il complemento di luogo: *Navi innumerabili d'ogni bandiera là sott'occhio*. Con questa frase si rompe la serie di proposizioni costruite secondo le norme della grammatica tradizionale e le due frasi consecutive non sono che enumerazioni di sostantivi: *una folla di turchi, d'arabi ecc. . . mercanti che ecc.* e quindi la colorita elencazione di indumenti frammisti ai tratti caratteristici del corpo umano: *turbanti, e perrucche, e cap(p)elli, e teste rase, e barbe, e zimarre, e tabarri, e pelliccie*. Tutti codesti sostantivi concreti devono essere considerati quali altrettante apposizioni da collegarsi al sostantivo centrale che sta all'inizio del passo: *piazza di Cambio*. È inutile dire che l'elencazione assicura una forte linearità connettiva al passo citato, con l'esclusione di subordinate complicate. L'ipotassi è presente solo con le poche relative che si congiungono con relativa facilità ai singoli sostantivi: *Il ponte di Rialto c h e a t r a v e r s a (. . .) ; m e r c a n t i c h e s c r i v o n o e c o n t r a t t a n o*.

E finalmente segue il passo luminoso in cui Alessandro Verri presenta, riuniti insieme, molti di quei tratti caratteristici che ricorrono nella prosa di vari scrittori di gusto artistico del Settecento italiano. È un pezzo di diario che si riferisce alla sua vita a Londra; alla base c'è un'enumerazione apposizionale, con sostantivi astratti e concreti, alcuni dei quali sono paratattici, altri sono calati in proposizioni ellittiche.

Io sto bene, sempre più contento di Londra, perché faccio una vita, che rassomiglia assai a quella, che facevo costì: *la mattina gran passeggiate, vedere le cose del paese, qualche visita, qualche piccola spesa, poi a casa a pranzo co' miei ospiti, buonissima gente; (. . .)* Quindi ritorno a casa, scrivo, leggo tranquillamente. Una occhiata sola, che dia fuori dalla finestra, mi consola. Veggo una gran strada, che d'ambe le parti è illuminata di risplendenti lanterne; veggo, se è l'ora, che finisce il teatro, qui vicino; *fiacre, carrozze, . . . uomini, torce a vento, portantine tutte in mucchio*, al che aggiungi uno strepito proporzionato a tutto questo tumulto di cose (Verri, *Carteggio*, vol. I/1, p. 150; anno 1766).

Occorre rilevare soprattutto la serie di sostantivi concreti verso la fine del passo, sostantivi che continuano senza verbo, senza la consueta compagine di frase, l'idea dell'autore: il teatro chiude, gli spettatori escono, non hanno difficoltà a tornare a casa, perché ci sono carrozze di tutti i generi e servitori con torce che fanno luce. Qui la funzione delle apposizioni riveste dimensioni espressive, rare e apprezzate anche ai nostri giorni: continuare paratatticamente in forma abbreviativa le azioni precedentemente esposte.

9. L'autonomia dei sintagmi apposizionali cresce ulteriormente con la loro collocazione all'inizio del periodo, con il rafforzamento del contenuto semantico dei sostantivi e degli aggettivi prolettici, che in questi casi precedono il nucleo centrale della frase, cioè il sintagma predicativo contenente il soggetto e predicato sia verbale che verbo-nominale.

Qui occorre fare una precisazione. Si tratta di una realizzazione sintattica che si diffonde a poco a poco fin dalla prima metà del Settecento, ma soprattutto quando si tratta di *aggettivi* in posizione prolettica, all'inizio del periodo. Vediamo un esempio del Muratori: e il ritratto di papa Giulio II, proveniente dalle *Antichità estensi*; nell'*Epistolario* tale uso non ricorre.

Impetuoso ne' suoi affetti, *implacabile* ne' suoi odi, *infaticabile* nelle sue imprese, per lo più altra legge, altro limite non conosceva alle risoluzioni sue che il proprio volere (Muratori: *Opere*. Ricciardi I, 1965, p. 460).

I tre aggettivi che determinano il soggetto sottinteso, che è: e g l i, fungono come apposizioni prolettiche; ma, al contempo, i sintagmi apposizionali hanno i connotati di frasi ellittiche che possono essere completate con qualche forma corrispondente del verbo *essere*. La forza espressiva trae origine dall'inversione dell'ordine della parole, per cui i tre aggettivi, le tre apposizioni preposte acquistano molto vigore di rilievo.

Nel nostro studio sintattico sulla prosa del Settecento abbiamo portato numerosi esempi di aggettivi prolettici in funzione apposizionale-predicativa

del tipo muratoriano; ora possono bastare due soli esempi provenienti dal *Carteggio* verriano, e uno dall'*Epistolario* del Metastasio:

Tu ne sei una prova; *modesto, discreto*, hai dovuto mancare di tutto, mentre i cadetti (. . .) hanno tutto quello che vogliono (Verri, *Carteggio*, vol. VI, p. 71; anno 1773); *Malcontenti* della poca mercanzia che volle loro dare, per vendicarsene, cautamente legarono la panca della cucina alla ruota grande d'una carrozza che ivi era immobile (*ibid.* vol. IX., p. 236; anno 1777). *Stanco* ancora, *studato, polveroso e rifinito* dall'inaspettato e frettoloso viaggio, son corso per ristorarmi alle vostre lettere. (Metastasio, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 634.)

Gli esempi rappresentano due sfumature diverse; il primo contiene il tipo di aggettivi rapidi, privi di sviluppi, efficaci per brevità e per successione paratattica; il solo aggettivo nel secondo è accompagnato invece da un complemento di specificazione, al quale si appoggia una subordinata relativa, nel terzo si hanno quattro aggettivi, l'ultimo, un participio passato, è accompagnato dal suo complemento.

In verità alla diffusione più larga dei sintagmi apposizionali predicativi, contrastava la facilità con la quale i sostantivi prolettici venivano completati con sviluppi di diverso genere: complementi, subordinate che potevano generare altre subordinate. La sensibilità linguistica dell'epoca, ostile a periodi complicati e allungati, preferiva costrutti analitici di breve respiro, non sempre consentiti dai sostantivi preposti all'inizio del periodo.

È raro il sintagma apposizionale prolettico di un solo sostantivo, trovato nel *Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore* di Pietro Verri:

Conobbi alla somiglianza il figlio dell'eroe; *fanciullo ancora*, sembra opporsi passio-
natamente al passo di suo padre (ediz. milanese del 1781; *cit.* dall'ediz. Feltrinelli del 1964, p. 40).

Fanciullo ancora, il sintagma apposizionale compare in funzione predicativa; esso è, se vogliamo, predicato nominale del soggetto, che è il figlio di *Attilio Regolo*. Pietro Verri sta analizzando, in questo passo, un quadro che rappresenta la partenza di Attilio Regolo da Roma. La tendenza stilistica si delinea più nettamente nei due esempi successivi che presentano sintagmi apposizionali; i sostantivi attirano intorno a sé aggettivi e participi, e i participi, per parte loro, reggono altri complementi. Nel secondo esempio si ha anche una subordinata relativa che dipende dal nome agente di un sostantivo diverso dal sostantivo apposizionale, del quale sarebbe un complemento. Si capisce che i sostantivi apposizionali venivano messi per evitare l'allungamento del periodo.

(. . .) *uomo grande, arditissimo, robusto, non frenato da nessun timore soprannaturale, bandito dalla patria, screditato, senza risorse*, vive col'altrui, facendo truffe, ora mettendo paura a chi ha danari (Verri, *Carteggio*, vol. IV, p. 224; anno 1771); *Elemento di una nuova macchina detestata dal pubblico, male organizzata e di cui è morto l'artefice*, io potrei temere di essero annientato con essa (*ibid.*, vol. I/2, p. 6; anno 1769).

Ora si dovrebbero portare esempi dell'uso di sintagmi apposizionali prolettici in funzione non predicativa, quando cioè gli aggettivi o i sostantivi

sono subordinati e non coordinati al sostantivo centrale. Ma non offrono, se non andiamo errati, tale tipo di apposizione con molta autonomia e quindi con molto rilievo espressivo. Ne abbiamo trovato un solo esempio nel *Diario* di Giovan Battista Biffi.

Il dì 17 di questo mese alle ore quattordici ha cessato di vivere il conte Giovanni Ambrogio Biffi mio padre. (...) *Picciolo* piuttosto di statura, *benissimo formato* della persona, *destro* a tutte le arti cavalesche, *la fisionomia vivissima*, *gli occhi sfavillanti*, era faceto nella conversazione, distratto ed annoiato negli affari (G. B. Biffi: *Diario 1777-1781*, a cura di G. Dossena, Milano, Bompiani, 1976, p. 49).

I tre aggettivi, con i quali il ritratto viene iniziato, si trovano in posizione predicativa, rispetto al soggetto, *Biffi padre*. I due sintagmi, *fisionomia* e *occhi*, sono invece ad esso subordinati essendone una parte, e quindi occorrerebbe il predicato verbale per unirli ad soggetto. Per evitare l'uso della copula e di un altro verbo logoro, l'autore ha preferito il periodare conciso e sintetico, riuscendo a dare rilievo sia agli aggettivi, che ai sostantivi.

I sintagmi prolettici, soprattutto se contengono dei sostantivi, possono acquistare una certa autonomia nei confronti del nucleo predicativo della frase, sicché si creano diversi rapporti logici tra essi e il predicato.

Uomo di poche parole, di niuna sensibilità; indeciso sempre ed in tutto, non ebbe mai un amico; non lo cerco per prudenza, e per cautela. (*op. cit.*, p. 49.)

Nell'esempio citato può trattarsi di un rapporto causale: *perché* fu uomo di poche parole (...) non ebbe mai un amico. E lo stesso rapporto di causalità si osserva nell'esempio seguente, proveniente dalle *Memorie* di Lorenzo da Ponte:

Nemico atroce della memoria del non gesuitico Giuseppe, che m'aveva amato e protetto, *contrario* alle massime d'un poeta libero e non bacchettone, avrebbe fatto ogni cosa per mandarmi al di là di Saturno, non ché a Vienna. (*Letterati ecc. op. cit.* p. 853.)

Invece nell'esempio del Goldoni che proviene da *La serva amorosa*, si deve vedere il rapporto concessivo.

Figlio unico di casa ricca e civile, vorreste avvilirvi collo sposare una serva? (*atto II, scena XII*).

Nell'esempio pittoresco seguente, che sarebbe degno della penna di uno scrittore impressionista di cento anni a lui posteriore, il Biffi metteva in posizione prolettica una lunga filza di infiniti in sostituzione di sostantivi e aggettivi; essi, gli infiniti fungono da apposizioni predicative (o di altro tipo subordinativo) e sono chiamate a caratterizzare il personaggio che il Biffi voleva deridere a mezzo del suo metodo stilistico, fondato sull'elencazione eccessiva ed esagerata.

Lavare un paio stomachevoli calzette dopo averle portate tre mesi, *lavarle* da sé nella sua camera in un catino d'acqua fresca per fare economia di sapone; *far consistere* la spesa della propria tavola per un giorno in tre quattrini di rape; per asciugarsi le

mani *adoperare* una salvietta (= asciugamano) quattro mesi servendosi d'ogni angolo un mese; *tenere* le stesse lenzuola nel letto sei mesi; *far durare* un paio di scarpe un anno; un vestito diciott'anni; dopo vent'anni *donare* al servitore un ridicolo tabarro a condizione che lo porti di giorno, ma lo restituisca la notte per metterlo sul letto proprio; *mandare* i propri figli laceri e pezzenti come i figli de' mendici, e *permettere* che vadino in qualche chiesa a portare delle scranne ai fedeli per averne due soldi; *cavere* di tasca un sordido fazoletto sucido, e lordo del non suo tabacco che sembra un straccio col quale si siano netati cento culi, distendendolo al fuoco, e *per-fumarne* fetentemente gli astanti; *diventar* l'odio del paese per tante virtù, alcuni crederanno che ciò sia esagerato, che un tal personaggio non esista se non se nell'Arpagone di Molière. No, esiste in Cremona nella persona del regio delegato don Agostino Cavalcabò. (G. B. Biffi, *Diario*, cit. p. 58; 14 aprile 1779; l'ortografia segue quella del testo pubblicato con la semplificazione delle esplosive; *Quattro* al posto di *quattro* riproduce dunque l'ortografia dell'edizione.)

Dodici infiniti prolettici, in funzione di apposizioni con notevole autonomia per caratterizzare in modo plastico e sarcastico la figura del regio delegato, don Agostino Cavalcabò: essi demoliscono, in ultima analisi, un periodo di larghissimo respiro, creando una rapida successione di piccole unità, nelle quali affiorano qua e là infiniti abbreviativi: *dopo averle portate* tre mesi; per *far* economia di sapone; *per asciugarsi* le mani; *per metterlo* sul letto proprio; *per averne* due soldi; di rado anche dei gerundi: *servendosi* d'ogni angolo un mese; *distendolo* al fuoco e ugualmente di rado delle subordinate: *a condizione che* lo porti di giorno, ma lo restituisca la notte; permettere *che* vadino (sic!) in qualche chiesa a portare delle scranne ai fedeli; cavare di tasca un sordido fazoletto sucido, e lordo del non suo tabacco *che* sembra un straccio *col quale* si siano netati cento culi.

La struttura dei sintagmi infinitivali e gerundiali è lineare con *dopo* e *per*, le uniche proposizioni introduttrici; il numero dei lessemi è ridottissimo sia negli infiniti sia nei sintagmi gerundiali. Lo stesso è caratteristico per le subordinate, di breve respiro: struttura semplice, uniformità nella scelta di congiunzioni: una ipotetica (*a condizione che*), una completiva (*che*) e due relative (*che*, *col quale*).

Tale linearità poteva essere raggiunta solo in seguito all'articolazione del periodo che poggia sulla ripresa delle apposizioni infiniti, procedimento che impedisca la struttura fondata sull'ipotassi, cioè sulle subordinate che si aggan- ciano una all'altra con la creazione di una spirale che si evolve facendo uso delle più svariate congiunzioni, e anche dei sintagmi sostitutivi o abbreviativi (gerundi, participi, infiniti).

10. A noi pare indubbio che alla base dell'ipertrofia di aggettivi o sostantivi o eventualmente di infiniti in funzione apposizionale, debba stare la tendenza a attuare uno stile chiaro e essenziale che assicura l'andamento piano della frase, con la riduzione notevole o eventualmente con l'eliminazione totale delle subordinate o di altri tipi di sviluppi fraseologici (gerundi, participi, infiniti). È da collegare allo stile chiaro e essenziale un particolare tipo di periodare che si potrà chiamare costruzione bipolare e che consiste nella lunga filza

Conclusione. Crediamo di aver potuto documentare con prove concrete che la prosa secentesca di largo respiro, fondata su strutture ritmiche simmetricamente collocate e anche sull'ipotassi, si rinnova su due binari sintattici diversi, ma non indipendenti l'uno dall'altro.

Il primo indica il ritorno alla frase semplice, al periodo basato sulla successione di proposizioni principali, con poche subordinate e con il prevalere, tra di esse, della completiva, della relativa, della temporale, dell'ipotetica, introdotte dalle congiunzioni più abituali, di tutti i giorni. Cominciano a diffondersi anche le proposizioni ellittiche, delle quali una forma particolare è la sequenza dei sostantivi completati con participi passati in funzione predicativa di rapida successione per indicare azioni contemporanee e anche future.

Il secondo binario è quello dell'apposizione che acquista dimensioni sempre maggiori. La ripresa del sostantivo identico con sviluppi dopo la chiusura della frase, segna la fase iniziale; il successivo procedimento di sganciamento dell'apposizione dal suo sostantivo si effettua in vari modi. La tappa finale e più vistosa ne è certamente l'elencazione paratattica nella descrizione di personaggi, di ambienti e paesaggi.

I due aspetti del rinnovamento e della semplificazione del periodare hanno una base stilistica comune che si estende anche alle altre zone della produzione letteraria, come la poesia e il genere drammatico. Infatti, le strutture e le forme sintattiche che abbiamo presentato, convergono alla rivalutazione del sostantivo, mettendolo in evidenza e all'attenzione di tutti, mentre si vedono condannati a un ruolo secondario i predicati verbali e le congiunzioni delle quali si può fare a meno a causa dell'uso limitato delle proposizioni subordinate e anche coordinate.

È questo che abbiamo analizzato, un periodare efficace, snello, espressivo, nervoso e leggermente caustico, scettico, che scomparirà, sotto i periodi grandiloquenti, sonori, retorici, dalla bellezza armonica dei Monti, dei Foscolo, dei Botta; rappresentanti di un'ideologia e di una mentalità di vati, intenti a svegliare e galvanizzare, in nome di idee nuove, i larghi strati della borghesia e degli intellettuali insofferenti degli schemi aristocraticamente eleganti di un'epoca oramai tramontata.

CHRONICA

ERINNERUNG AN IRÉN N. SEBESTYÉN

Von

P. HAJDÚ

Vor der Öffentlichkeit des III. Internationalen Finnisch-Ugrischen Kongresses in Tallinn 1970 hat der Vorsitzende des Kongresses, Paul Ariste die damals 80jährige Irén N. Sebestyén mit einem großen Blumenstrauß begrüßt und er hat sie in seiner Begrüßung, die ihre Verdienste würdigte, mit spontaner Unmittelbarkeit sehr zutreffend »Großmutter« der Finno-Ugristik genannt. Wir, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten ihres Lebens mit ihr einen Kontakt bekommen haben, haben wirklich in ihr diese großmütterlichen Züge erkannt und immer besser entdeckt. Ihre Aufmerksamkeit und Sorge haben sich außer ihrer Familie auch auf die größere Familie, auf die Gesamtheit und Pflege des ganzen Fachgebietes ausgebreitet. Sie hat der Gestaltung des Schicksalls ihrer Kollegen gefolgt, sie hat mit Ratschlägen und mit Ermutigung den Lebenslauf der neueren Generation angebahnt und wenn es sich so gegeben hat, hat sie mit mildherzig greinenden Ermahnungen die jüngeren Forscher- oder Übersetzerkollegen geleitet.

Sie verließ uns am 4. August 1978 in Szeged, wo sie nach dem Tode ihres Ehemannes (1976) ihre letzten zehn Monate im Familienkreis verbracht hat. Sie wurde am 30. August in Karcag bestattet, neben ihrem Ehemann und ihrem Kind, das im Alter von anderthalb Jahren gestorben ist.¹

Eine lange und reiche Lebensbahn führte zur Karcager letzten Ruhestätte aus Nagyenyed, wo sie am 27. Mai 1890 geboren ist. Ihr Vater war in der örtlichen Bürgerschule für Mädchen Mathematik- und Physiklehrer, ihre Mutter war Direktorin der staatlichen Volksschule in Nagyenyed. Nachdem Irén Sebestyén die Volks- und Bürgerschule in ihrer Geburtsstadt absolviert hatte, studierte sie von 1904 im Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt in Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) weiter, wo sie 1908 — im Jahre des Todes ihres Vaters — ein Lehrerindiplom für Volksschule bekommen hat. Die junge Lehrerin mit ausgezeichnete Leistung hat sich aber höhere Ziele gesetzt und sie hat ihr Studium im Lehrerinnenbildungsanstalt für Bürgerschule der Budapester staatlichen Elisabeth-Frauenschule fortgesetzt; 1911 bekommt sie auch hier ein Diplom. Inzwischen beginnt sie aber aus Privatfleiß griechisch, lateinisch und finnisch zu lernen, sie liest linguistische Arbeiten und nach dem Anerbieten von József Szinnyi (der damals Vorsitzender des Oberen Landesausschusses der Untersuchung der Volks- und Bürgerschullehrer und -lehrerinnen bzw. Ministerialkommissar der Studentenheime der Lehrerkandidaten für Lehrerbildungsanstalten — der sog. Apponyi-Studentenheime — war) wurde sie nach dem Erwerben ihres zweiten

¹ Die Grabrede siehe: MNy 75 [1979] 113—115.

Diploms unter den ersten ins Apponyi-Studentenheim aufgenommen. Dies hat für sie die Möglichkeit zum Universitätsstudium im Herbst 1911 eröffnet. Parallel hat sie auch das ergänzende Abitur bestanden und im weiteren folgt ihre Ausbildung in den Fächern Ungarisch und Geschichte unter der Leitung der Professoren József Szinnyi, Zsigmond Simonyi und Dávid Angyal. Irén Sebestyén war zu dieser Zeit in finnischer Sprache und Literatur bereits so fortgeschritten, daß Szinnyi sie vom finnischen Studium befreit hat.

Nach dem ersten Studienjahr hat sie eine zwei- und halbmonatige Studienreise in Finnland unternommen und sie hat hier die Übersetzung des Romans von Linnankoski »Lied über die glührote Blume« beendet. Dies wird dann ihre erste, auch im Druck erschienene Arbeit sein (1914). Vorher erwirbt sie aber im Sommer 1913 ihr drittes Diplom — Lehrer für Lehrerinnbildungsanstalt —, dies folgend wird sie Erzieherin der Oberstufe der Übungsschule für Mädchen der Elisabeth-Frauenschule, aber sie setzt auch bei ihrer 45stündigen wöchentlichen Beschäftigung ihr Universitätsstudium fort und sie beendet es auch bald.

Vom September 1914 bis Ende 1917 hat sie im Lehrerinnbildungsanstalt für Bürgerschule der Elisabeth-Frauenschule als Stellvertretende auch ungarische Sprachwissenschaft vorgetragen, aber anfangs 1916 gibt sie ihre Stellung als Erzieherin auf und sie wird Praktikant mit Diurnum in der Landesbibliothek »Széchényi«. In diesem Jahr (im März) ist sie in finnisch-ugrischer Sprachwissenschaft Doktor der Philosophie geworden. Ihre Dissertation ist die von den Fachleuten auch heute gut bekannte ausgezeichnete Arbeit Finn jelzők szerkezetek [Finnische Attributkonstruktionen] (NyK 44), wofür sie den Sámuel-Preis der UAW erhalten hat.

1917 hat sie mit Gyula Németh, mit dem damals schon einen guten Ruf habenden Turkologen Ehe geschlossen. Von 1919 an setzt sie als Hilfskraft ihre Arbeit in der Bibliothek fort, ganz bis Juli 1922, als sie auf die Liste der Abgebauten gesetzt wurde und so ging sie — mit 32 Jahren! — in den Ruhestand.

Sie hat aber ihre wissenschaftliche Arbeit fortgesetzt, sogar hat sich diese eigentlich erst in den folgenden Jahrzehnten mit voller Intensität entfaltet.

Zwischen 1924 und 1930 hat sie sechs Studienreisen in Finnland gemacht, wo sie mit den ausgezeichneten Vertretern des finnischen kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Lebens einen Kontakt bekommen hat. Mit ihrer hier angeführten Forschungsarbeit hat sie ein bedeutendes geistiges Kapital erworben, das sie in ihren späteren Arbeiten benützt hat. Ein denkwürdiges Ereignis ihrer wissenschaftlichen Karriere war, als sie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Budapester (damals noch Péter Pázmány) Universität am 14. März 1944 im Themenkreis »Uralische Lexikologie« Privatdozent wurde. Sie konnte ihre Vorträge wegen den Kriegsumständen erst nach der Befreiung beginnen und sie hielt diese selbstlos, von der Zuneigung der Studenten bis zur Aufhebung der Privatdozentur. Da wurde sie aber vom Ausschuß für Wissenschaftliche Qualifizierung für Kandidaten der Sprachwissenschaften erklärt (1952), wie es früher mit den Privatdozenten üblich war. Irén N. Sebestyén hat aber in einigen Jahren in der wissenschaftlichen Hierarchie höher gestiegen: 1956 hat sie mit ihrer Abhandlung Samojedische Attributkonstruktionen, die einen großen Widerhall erregt hat, den Titel »Doktor der Sprachwissenschaften« erworben. Einiges über ihr weiteres wissenschaftliches Dekor: der Minister für Kulturwesen hat sie nach der Unterbreitung des Rates der Budapester Universität zum Titularprofessor ernannt, für ihre hervorragende Arbeit auf dem Gebiet

der finnisch-ungarischen kulturellen Kontakte wurde sie 1967 mit dem Kommandograd des Finnischen Löwenordens ausgezeichnet, aber sie hat zahlreiche andere Anerkennungen auch bekommen [z.B. sie wurde für Mitglied der Finnisch-Ugrischen Gesellschaft (1953), der Finnischen Gesellschaft für Literatur (1931) und der Kalevala-Gesellschaft (1958) gewählt]. Sie war seit 1916 Mitglied der Ungarischen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft, so haben wir in ihrer Person unser ältestes Mitglied verloren. Sie war lange Zeit Mitglied des Ausschusses der Gesellschaft, aber dabei hat sie auch in der Arbeit verschiedener akademischer Komitees teilgenommen — solange sie imstande war (Linguistischer Fachausschuß des AWQ, Finnisch-Ugrischer Arbeitsausschuß).

Nach dem Überblick der äußeren Gestaltung ihres Lebens möchten wir die Hauptergebnisse ihres Lebenswerkes zusammenfassen.

Ihre Tätigkeit war außerordentlich reich und abwechslungsreich : sie meldet sich fast gleichzeitig als Linguist und als berufener Übersetzer. Diese parallele Verpflichtung hat sie in ihrem ganzen Leben begleitet.

In dieser Zeitschrift wollen wir sie nicht als Übersetzer preisen, deshalb erwähnen wir bloß soviel, daß ihr Name infolge der Übersetzungen der Werke von Linnankoski, Sillanpää, Järnefelt, Waltari und Kokko unter den besten heimischen Übersetzer erwähnt wird. Durch ihre Übersetzungen, populärwissenschaftlichen Aufsätze und Lexikonartikel hat sie einen verdienten Ruhm in der ungarischen Bekanntmachung der finnischen Literatur errungen. Wir wissen nicht, welche ihrer beiden Leidenschaften stärker war : das Übersetzen oder vielleicht die Sprachwissenschaft ; es ist aber gewiß, daß sie in ihren letzten Monaten nur noch einen Wunsch hatte : wenigstens noch einen schönen finnischen Roman ins Ungarische übersetzen können.

Ihr linguistisches Interesse gruppiert sich um drei Problemgruppen, die scheinbar fern von einander liegen. Sie trat mit syntaktischen Themen vor die Öffentlichkeit des wissenschaftlichen Lebens. Ihr schon erwähntes Werk *Finnische Attributkonstruktionen* wurde durch folgende Worte des Berichtes von Dezső Pais (Betreffs der Befähigung von Irén N. Sebestyén als Privatdozent) zutreffend charakterisiert : »Sie hat beachtenswerte Anmerkungen im Themenkreis der Übereinstimmung und Nicht-Übereinstimmung des Attributs mit dem attribuierten Wort im Finnischen gemacht. Als schon zu dieser Zeit ausgezeichnete Kenner des finnischen sprachlichen Materials behandelt sie auf Grund außerordentlich reicher und vielseitiger Angabenmenge den attributivischen Gebrauch der Partizipien und des Substantivs nicht nur aus dem Gesichtspunkt der finnischen sondern auch aus dem der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen mit ernsthaftem Erfolg. Es muß besonders betont werden, daß sie den historischen Gesichtspunkt, der zur pragmatischen Untersuchung der sprachlichen Erscheinungen unentbehrlich ist, sehr geschickt geltend machen kann, obwohl dies wegen der Neuheit und Unzulänglichkeit der finnischen Sprachdenkmäler auf bedeutende Hindernisse stößt.«²

Zu dieser Bewertung können wir noch hinzufügen : diese Arbeit von Irén N. Sebestyén knüpft sich logisch an die Monographie von Manó Kertész *Finnugor jelzős szerkezetek* [Finnisch-ugrische Attributkonstruktionen] (NyK 43 [1914]), die die daher gehörenden Erscheinungen der finnischen (und

² Wir müssen Dr. Zsófia Németh einen Dank sagen, da sie diesen Bericht, die biographischen Angaben und die Grundbibliographie uns zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

lappischen) Sprache bewußt von der Untersuchung ausgeschlossen hat. Diese zwei Arbeiten können zusammen eigentlich als erster finnisch-ugrischer syntaktischer Versuch betrachtet werden, in dessen Hintergrund die sprachhistorische Studie von Zsigmond Simonyi A jelzők mondattana [Syntax der Attribute] (Budapest 1913) als Basis und gleich als methodologisches Muster steht.

Später — nach ungefähr zehn Jahren — setzt sie in ihrem Aufsatz A finn-ugor alárendelés kérdésehez [Zur Frage der finnisch-ugrischen Subordinierung] (MNy 23 [1927]) der in der Szinnyei Festschrift veröffentlicht wurde, ihre syntaktischen Untersuchungen in weiterer Perspektive fort. Der wegen der Umfangbeschränkung der Festschrift kurzgefaßte Aufsatz enthält ein Beispielmateriale, das sich auf alle wichtigeren verwandten Sprachen (auf das Samojedische auch!) ausbreitet und das die Ansichten H. Pauls und W. Wundts mit einander gegenüberstellt und einander näher bringt. Sie nimmt zwei Arten der asyndetischen Subordinierungen in der Grundsprache an: die sog. reine Subordinierung (= der Haupt- und Nebensatz sind hier »eine einzige volle Vorstellung«) und die aus einer Koordinierung entstandene Subordinierung (= wo beide Gliedsätze je einer »vollen Vorstellung« entsprechen). Die Bedeutung dieses Aufsatzes liegt in der Themenwahl: es geschieht das erstmal, daß jemand auf den Aufbau und die Eigenheiten der zusammengesetzten Sätze der finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache zu schließen versucht. Das verwendete sprachliche Material ist ja zum erfolgreichen Versuch nicht genügend, so ist die Verfasserin gezwungen, sich auf die Grundprinzipien der Großen der damaligen allgemeinen Sprachtheorie stützend aus einem im voraus aufgestellten grundsprachlichen Modell auf deduktiver Weise die in die Untersuchung einbezogenen heutigen finnisch-ugrischen Beispielsätze zu erklären. Einige wichtige Anmerkungen von Irén N. Sebestyén stehen auch noch heute fest und diese können gute Grundlage für die neuere finnisch-ugrische syntaktische Forschung sein.

Syntaktische Untersuchungen führt sie dann nur noch in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren — im Zusammenhang mit ihren samojedischen Studien — durch und zwar auf der befolgenswerten Weise, daß sie auch in der Behandlung der samojedischen Erscheinungen die für die uralische Grundsprache gültigen Verallgemeinerungen vor Augen hält. Einer ihrer diesbezüglichen Aufsätze mit dem Titel A birtokviszonyt kifejező szerkezetek a szamojédban és az urali genitivus kérdése [Besitzverhältnis ausdrückende Konstruktionen im Samojedischen und die Frage des uralischen Genitivs] (NyK 58 [1956]; deutsch: ALH 7 [1957—1958]) stellt an riesigem samojedischem Beispielmateriale die Konstruktionen dar, in denen das pure Substantiv auch in unbezeichneter Form geeignet ist, das Possessivattribut zu bezeichnen und inzwischen werden die mit possessiven Personalsuffixen versehenen Attribute und attribuierte Wörter (bzw. andere anschließende Probleme) behandelt. Die wichtigste — individuell neue — Aussage knüpft sich an die Possessivkonstruktionen, die mit Genitivsuffix gebildet werden. Aus deren Untersuchung folgert Irén N. Sebestyén darauf, daß der Gebrauch des Genitivsuffixes *-n im Samojedischen sekundär ist: das -n ist ein anorganischer, die Aussprache erleichternder Laut, der aus satzphonetischen Gründen entstanden ist und der gar keine Gemeinsamkeit mit dem Genitivsuffix *-n der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen hat. Irén Sebestyéns Meinung hat heftige Debatten erregt, eine vielverzweigte Literatur hat sich um sie entfaltet und sie war geeignet dafür, die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Möglichkeit zu lenken, daß sich Elemente phonetischer (also nicht gramma-

tischer) Herkunft und Funktion grammatisieren können. Nach der Erwägung der in der Polemik zum Vorschein gekommenen Argumente und Gegenargumente hat Irén Sebestyén ihre frühere Anschauungen zum Teil geändert: in der deutschen Fassung ihres Aufsatzes, die später erschienen ist, hat sie ihren Standpunkt schon schattierter abgefaßt. Demnach gab es in der uralischen Grundsprache kein Genitivsuffix und die nasalen Elemente (oder Glottisverschlußlänge), die sich in den samojedischen Sprachen in Genitivfunktion melden, können auf mehrerer Weise erklärt werden: entweder sind sie anorganisch oder sie sind umgewertete Suffixüberbleibsel (die den vollen Stamm repräsentieren), oder sie können so gewertet werden, daß sie Fortsetzungen des uralischen Dativs bzw. Lokativs sind. Diese elastischere Variante ihrer Theorie beweist zweifellos, daß die Verfasserin die nachträglich mitgeteilten Argumente und Fakten respektiert und in Betracht zieht, aber diese neuen Ergebnisse ihrer Arbeit haben auch weitere komplizierte Debatten erregt.

Die Studie Szamójéd jelzós szerkezetek [Samojedische Attributkonstruktionen] (NyK 59 [1957], deutsch: ALH 9 [1959]) ist die Fortsetzung der vorigen und sie bildet einen wichtigen Teil der Doktordissertation. In diesem macht sie zuerst sich an Ravila anschließend ergänzende Anmerkungen zu den uralischen Wortarten — auf Grund samojedischen Materials. Demnach war der uralische Satz nominalen Charakters, die prädikative Konstruktion habe sich aus Attributkonstruktion herausgebildet. Nach der Aufzählung der samojedischen Beispiele, die für das substantivische Attribut reichlich vorgebracht werden können, stellt sie fest, daß wir nicht einmal auf Grund der Beweise dieser Sprachen in der uralischen Grundsprache mit der Kategorie des Adjektivs rechnen können. Im Zusammenhang damit legt sie ihre Anschauung dar, daß die heutigen Adjektivableitungssuffixe des Juraksamojedischen nicht originell sind, sondern sie sind entweder aus anorganischen Lauten entstanden oder sie können auf Ableitungssuffix eines Substantivs, manchmal auf possessives Personalsuffix zurückgeführt werden. Dieser gedankliche Aufbau ist zweifellos einheitlich, logisch, obwohl er — auch aus dem Unterschied der Interpretation gewisser Erscheinungen — mit meiner Anschauung nicht auf einen Nenner gebracht werden kann. Neben diesen zur Debatte aneifernden Feststellungen fassen ihre Erörterungen über das Partizipialattribut und die Apposition die ergänzenden Lehren musterhaft zusammen, die die Folgerungen ergänzen, die auf der Übereinstimmung der samojedischen Sprachen mit den anderen verwandten Sprachen beruhen.

Ihre syntaktischen Forschungen führen Irén Sebestyén offensichtlich zu zahlreichen morphologischen Feststellungen. Es hängt so z.B. von der Anschauung an, ob wir im Aufsatz Zum Gebrauch des Duals und des Plurals im Juraksamojedischen, FUF 33 (1972) den morphologischen oder den syntaktischen Gesichtspunkt für charakteristischer halten. Es steht aber fest, daß auch diese Arbeit sehr viele originelle Erklärungsmöglichkeiten darbietet, die manchmal vom Allgemeinen grundsätzlich abweichen. Als Beispiel weise ich nur auf eines ihrer Ergebnisse: Irén Sebestyén hält den Stimmband-verschlußlaut des Pl. Gen. des Juraksamojedischen für die abgeschwächte Form des Elementes *-t des Possessivsuffixes der 3. Person (z.B. in den Sätzen wie *tš² maši² himne* 'über die Rücken der Rentiere') und auf Grund dessen meint sie die Regel zu korrigieren, wonach der Stimmband-verschlußlaut (²) ständiges Element des PlGen. ist. Irén Sebestyén hat ihre Meinung infolge der eigenartigen Deutung der Angaben der seit Castrén aufgezeichneten (und oft schlecht

aufgezeichneten) Texte gebildet und so hat es vorkommen können, daß sie zu den Regeln des lebenden Sprachgebrauchs ab und zu in Widerspruch geraten ist. Allerdings bin ich der Meinung, daß wir in der Bewertung dieser ihrer Werke eher die Analyse des mit größter Sorgfalt gesammelten und der Funktionen nach behandelten Beispielsatzmaterials als hervorragend bleibenden Wert in den Vordergrund setzen müssen.

Ein anderes spezielles Arbeitsgebiet Irén N. Sebestyéns war die Forschung der uralischen Urgeschichte. In anderer Einstellung ist ihre diesbezügliche Tätigkeit wortgeschichtlich-lexikologischen Charakters, überhaupt in der Zeit zwischen den dreißiger und fünfziger Jahren (darauf weist übrigens auch die Benennung der Befähigung ihrer Privatdozentur hin), doch war Irén Sebestyén in der Tat kein »professioneller« Etymologe: die Herkunft der Wörter hat sie nicht in etymologischer oder lautgeschichtlicher Hinsicht interessiert, sondern sie hat sich wegen der kulturhistorisch-urgeschichtlichen Folgerungen, die daraus gezogen werden können, damit beschäftigt. Vielleicht kann dies die Erklärung sein dafür, daß weder sich lautgeschichtliche Neuerungen an ihren Namen knüpfen noch ist sie bestrebt gewesen, neue Etymologien aufzustellen. Aber natürlich hängt damit zusammen, daß sie immer größere Wortblöcke untersucht hat, die immer kulturhistorisch haben bewertet werden können.

Im ersten ihrer Aufsätze solchen Charakters schreibt sie über *Az urali nyelvek régi halnevei* [Die alten Fischnamen der uralischen Sprachen] (NyK 49 [1935]), später beschäftigte sie sich mit dem Themenkreis *Fák és fás helyek régi nevei az urali nyelvekben* [Der alten Namen der Bäume und der von Bäumen bewachsenen Plätze in den uralischen Sprachen], (NyK 51–52 [1943–1950]; Sonderdruck. Budapest 1943). In beiden ihrer Aufsätze faßt sie viele Dutzende (insgesamt etwa mehr als 200) uralische und finnisch-ugrische Etymologien zusammen und sie ist bestrebt, zur Methode der sprachlichen Biogeographie gegriffen die alten Wohngebiete der Uralier feststellen zu können. Mit der Verbreitung der Lachs- und Störarten bzw. der Nadelwälder, der Eichen-, Birken- und Pappelwälder in der uralischen Zeit in Betracht gezogen setzt sie die uralische Urheimat auf der westlichen Seite des Ural-Gebirges auf das Gebiet der Flüsse Kama, Vjatka und Petschora. Dieses Urheimatbild in einen breiteren Hintergrund gesetzt (auch auf die Namen der Vögel und Pelztiere bzw. auf die Benennungen der natürlichen Umgebung eingegangen) erörtert sie von neuem in ihrer Zusammenfassung *Az urali népek régi lakóhelyeinek kérdése* [Zur Frage der alten Wohngebiete der uralischen Völker] (NyIOK 1 [1951]; deutsch: ALH 1 [1952]). Irén Sebestyén hat mit allen drei Studien eine Schule gebaut: diese ungarische urgeschichtliche Richtung hat im wesentlichen auf Grund der gleichen Methode der finnischen Forscher abweichende Ergebnisse gebracht, die in der uralischen urhistorischen Forschungen lange Zeit maßgebend waren. Bei der Würdigung ihrer auf diesem Gebiet erreichten Ergebnisse dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß zu dieser Zeit keine modernen etymologischen Wörterbücher oder uralischen lauthistorischen Zusammenfassungen Irén Sebestyén zur Verfügung standen: die Verfasserin mußte selbst sich einen Weg durch den dichten Wald der etymologischen Literatur bahnen und dies war im Falle einer Untersuchung, die sich auf mehrere hunderte Wortfamilien ausbreitete, eine übermäßig komplizierte Aufgabe. In ihrer Zeit versuchte sie aber mit außerordentlich imponierendem Problemgefühl gewisse worthistorische und etymologische Probleme zu klären und es kam nicht auf sie an, daß sich die von ihr aufgestellten Thesen aus der Perspektive der ver-

gangenen drei Jahrzehnte für heute schon wesentlich verändert haben und sich mehrere von den behandelten Etymologien nicht für richtig erwiesen haben.

Zu diesem Gebiet ihrer Tätigkeit kann noch ihre Mitteilung Beiträge zum Problem der protolappischen Sprache (ALH 3 [1953]) gehören, worin sie neue sprachwissenschaftliche Argumente für die Lehren Toivonens aufzählt, die die protolappisch-samojedische Gleichheit voraussetzt. Dieser Artikel, der eigentlich ethnogenetischen-urgeschichtlichen Charakters ist, lenkt unsere Aufmerksamkeit einerseits auf neuere lappisch-samojedische (-obugrische) Wortübereinstimmungen, aber noch mehr interessant sind diejenigen Absätze, in denen sie die Provenienz der Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Attribut und attribuiertem Wort im Finnischen (und anderen Sprachen) behandelt. Aus gewissen samojedischen Analogien ausgehend wirft sie die Möglichkeit auf, daß die Kongruenz im Finnischen der protolappischen Wirkung zugeschrieben werden kann. Dieser Aufsatz ist berühmt, weil er statt der allgemein gebräuchlichen, mit germanischer Wirkung rechnenden Erklärung der finnischen Kongruenz eine andere Möglichkeit bietet und im Zusammenhang damit zeichnet sie ein prächtiges — in der Fachliteratur ganz neues — Bild von den Arten der Kongruenz des Juraksamojedischen. Wegen dieser Vorzüge ist also dieser Aufsatz nicht bloß ethnogenetischen Interesses, sogar rückt dies hinter den syntaktischen Feststellungen, deren Bedeutung ganz erstangig ist, in den Hintergrund.

Wir konnten bemerken, wie Irén Sebestyén seit ihrem Aufsatz, der 1927 in MNy erschien, die Erforschung der samojedischen Sprachen in den Vordergrund setzt. Anfangs hat es sich daraus ergeben, daß die Probleme der uralischen Sprachwissenschaft ohne die Berücksichtigung der samojedischen Sprachen nicht gelöst werden können. Selbst diese Erkenntnis ist schon eine viel versprechende Anregung gewesen. Die gründliche Untersuchung des samojedischen Materials hatte schließlich dazu geführt, daß sich zu Wende der 50er und 60er Jahre auch das dritte, von ihr untersuchte Fachgebiet — die historische Erforschung der samojedischen Sprachen — herausgebildet hat, das vielleicht den erfolgreichsten Teil ihrer Tätigkeit bildet.

Ihre samojedistische Tätigkeit wird durch ihre akademische Doktordissertation und durch die auf dieser beruhende — schon erwähnte — syntaktische Studienreihe eröffnet. Der Form nach gehört die Herausgabe des juraksamojedischen Wörterverzeichnisses und der grammatischen Aufzeichnungen von A. Sprogis (ALH 2 [1952]) auch zum Beginn, aber dies war trotz aller Besonderheiten³ eher nur eine Aufgabe, das Material zum Druck zu vorbereiten und kein echtes Forschungsprogramm. Dies Letztes hat sie nach der Publikation der

³ Die Besonderheit der Sache liegt darin, daß das Manuskript Jahrzehnte hindurch verborgen war und viele zu erraten suchten, wer der Verfasser sein konnte, bis schließlich P. Ariste gelang, A. Sprogis zu ermitteln und 1973 (SFU 10 [1974]) mit demjenigen litauischen Revolutionär zu identifizieren, der 1887 geboren war und später unter dem Namen Alfreds Kasparsons wichtige sowjetische diplomatische und finanzielle Ämter innehatte. Nach dem Aufrollen der rätselhaften Fäden kam zwischen Irén Sebestyén und dem ehemaligen Sprogis ein mehrmaliger Briefwechsel zustande und es entstand eine ergreifend schöne Freundschaft zwischen der bejahrten Forscherin und dem greisen Diplomaten. Andererseits konnte die Kritik Lehtisalo über die Sprogis-Ausgabe (FUF 32 [1956]) Irén Sebestyén auch zuleide tun — ohne daß sie es gesagt hätte; sie hat sich erst 1977 erschlossen, diese Kritik anhand der von Kasparsons erhaltenen Angaben und ihrer eigenen, neu gesammelten Gegenargumente zu widerlegen (SFU 13).

Aufsätze, die das Thema der Dissertation behandelt haben, planmäßig fortgesetzt. Aus diesen Studien ragt sowohl hinsichtlich des Umfanges als auch der Bedeutung die Arbeit Zur juraksamojedischen Konjugation (FUF 38 [1970]) hervor, die die juraksamojedischen Verbalstämme und Verbformen auf Grund der den neugrammatischen Traditionen folgenden Nomenverbum-Anschauung behandelt. In ihrem Aufsatz erklärt sie ihre Auffassung, wonach es im Juraksamojedischen keine Formen gäbe, die die verschiedenen grammatischen Tempuskategorien bezeichnen, und sogar auch die Modi nur Partizipialstämme seien, die einen anachronistischen Zustand bezeichnen. Aus der Analyse der wichtigeren Verbkategorien schließt sie dann darauf, daß jedes finite Verb, das eine prädikative Funktion hat, letzten Endes ein Partizip war. Irén Sebestyén kann also ein Ableitungssuffix des Partizips auch an den reflexiven Verben, im Indikativ, Potentialis, Optativ, Konditional und Desiderativ oder z.B. in der Endung *-s* des Präteritums nachweisen. Und sie sieht in den Personalendungen der sog. »transitiven«, »intransitiven« und der reflexiven Verben possessive Personalendungen. Diese neuen Ergebnisse stimmen eigentlich mit der früheren allgemein bekannten Auffassung überein, wonach der uralische Satz nominalen Ursprungs sei, und wenn ihre Sprachbetrachtung und morphologischen Erklärungen auch nicht immer den Leser anderer linguistischer Auffassung überzeugen, kann dieser auch so zahlreiche kluge Bemerkungen, interessante syntaktische Beobachtungen und nützliche Hinweise auf die Übereinstimmungen mit den verwandten Sprachen dieser wertvollen Studie verdanken. Diese Arbeit ist von grundlegender Bedeutung denen, die sich mit der Geschichte des samojedischen Verbs beschäftigen, auch wenn sie dieses Thema auf Grund anderer, moderner linguistischer Konzeption bearbeiten wollen.

Eng zum obigen Thema gehört ihr Artikel Die prädikative Funktion des Verbalnomens auf **pa* im Juraksamojedischen (FUF 40 [1973]), der auf gleicher Weise den Ursprung des Ableitungssuffixes des juraksamojedischen konditionalen Gerundiums erhellt.

Mehrere kürzere Mitteilungen von ihr veranschaulichen offensichtlich, was ihre Kollegen schon genau wußten, d. h. daß sie eine größere Monographie über das samojedische Verb schreiben will. Diese ist leider nicht fertig geworden, aber daß sie sich darauf vorbereitet hat, können die folgenden Aufsätze beweisen: Lautwandel in den samojedischen Verbalstämmen (CSIFU 1965; ungarisch: NyK 68 [1966]) und Juraksamojedische Verben mit dem Stamm *me-*, *mie-* (JSFOu. 72 [1973]). Beide behaupten, daß die eingliedrigen Verbalstämme aus zweigliedrigen stammen bzw. der lange Auslautvokal der zweigliedrigen sekundär ist und wie bei allen Verbformen wir auch hier ein Ableitungssuffix des Partizips (zumeist in der Form **jε*) voraussetzen müssen.

Ihre Untersuchungen haben sich auch auf die Morphologie des Nomens ausgebreitet. Auf die bezüglichen Abschnitte ihrer syntaktischen Abhandlungen hinweisend erwähne ich, daß sie in der Genitivus-Debatte wider die Gegenargumente ihre Meinung aufs neue erklärt und die Debatte mit neueren Angaben für ihr Recht eingesetzt weitergeführt hat wie z. B. in ihrem Aufsatz Zum Problem des samojedischen und des uralischen Genitivs (MSFOu. 125 [1962]). In diesem Aufsatz können wir ihre schöne Eigenschaft bemerken, daß sie die Gegenargumente des Diskussionspartners objektiv und überlegt durchdenkt und diese — ihrer Konzeption entsprechend — neu interpretiert. Inzwischen kontrolliert sie ja ihre früheren Anschauungen auch und sie versucht sie mit neuen Argumenten zu unterstützen.

Ihre Abhandlung A jurák-szamojéd determináló névragozás kérdéséhez [Zur Frage der Juraksamojedischen determinierenden Deklination] (NyK 61 [1959]; deutsch: ALH 10 [1960]) äußert im Zusammenhang mit einer sehr interessanten sprachlichen Kategorie — mit der von mir predestinierende Deklination genannten Erscheinung — ihre Meinung, daß die auf die Verben hinweisende Verbindung dieser uns oft archaisch vorkommenden Formen Ausdruck des »Desideriums« ist (dazu siehe noch: NyK 61 [1959]; 238 ff.). Sie legt auch der morphologischen Erklärung der Endungen Gewicht bei: Die Eigenheiten des Problems haben fast sofort eine Debatte erregt.

Die Grundprobleme der Deklination werden in den folgenden Aufsätzen behandelt: Lokativ und Lativ im Juraksamojedischen (MSFOu. 150 [1973]), Possessive Personalsuffixe Sg., Pl. 1. und Sg., Pl. 2. im Juraksamojedischen (ALH 26 [1976]), Das Possessivsuffix *t. im Juraksamojedischen (ALH 24 [1974]).

Es wäre unmöglich, die Bedeutung aller ihrer Artikel extra zu erörtern. Sie hat sich ja mit den Fragen der samojedischen Nomenbildung, mit samojedischen Worterklärungen, mit den Personalpronomen und mit dem sprachlichen Niederschlag des samojedischen Schamanismus beschäftigt, sie ist zu den juraksamojedischen Aufzeichnungen von Sprogis zurückgekehrt und sie hat die mundartliche Zugehörigkeit von diesen aufs neue analysiert usw.

Iréen N. Sebestyén hat sich am Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts als Schüler Zsigmond Simonyis und József Szinnyeys auf ihre Laufbahn vorbereitet. Sie ist ein ganzes Leben lang der von ihnen übernommenen Sprachbetrachtung treu geblieben. Sie hat aber die neue Fachliteratur mit Aufmerksamkeit verfolgt und deren Feststellungen auch benützt, wenn diese sich auch in ihrer fest begründeten Sprachauffassung für richtig erwiesen haben. Es ist notwendigerweise so geschehen, daß die Auffassungen dieser konsequenten und gesinnungstreuen Haltung zu den der jüngeren Kollegen neuerer Bildung und anderer Anschauung manchmal in Gegensatz gestanden haben, woraus oft eine lebhaft und erfolgreiche Debatte entstanden ist. Diese sind aber — dank ihrem diskreten und feinen Wesen — nie in schlechte Stimmung geraten und das persönliche, freundschaftliche oder geradezu »mütterliche« gute Verhältnis ist zwischen ihr und den Diskussionspartnern immer vorhanden geblieben. Irén Sebestyén hat sich auch in diesen Lagen als eine außerordentliche Persönlichkeit erwiesen: sie hat die persönlichen Beziehungen von der wissenschaftlichen Gegenmeinung immer auseinanderhalten können und sie ist nie beleidigt gewesen, wenn die Jüngeren anderer Meinung waren. Neben dieser schätzenswerten Eigenschaft war einer der charakteristischen Züge ihrer Tätigkeit die standhaftige (beinahe schon hartnäckige) Berücksichtigung der Angaben und der in den Texten dokumentierten Fakten und das unerschütterliche Festhalten an der philologischen Treue: der Bearbeitung aller Themen ging ein nach Vollständigkeit strebendes Verzetteln der zur Verfügung stehenden Texte voran und es konnte kaum eine Angabe geben, die sie in der Bearbeitung außer Acht gelassen hätte. Sie hielt sich treulich an der Schreib- und Veröffentlichungsweise der originellen Quellen, d.h. sie war — aus prinzipiellen Gründen — zur phonologischen Umwertung der Angaben der Sammler oder zur Vereinfachung komplizierter phonetischer Aufzeichnungen nicht bereit. Für sie war der Text die primäre Quelle und in deren Interpretation beharrte sie auf den von ihr erarbeiteten Verfahren. Wenn sie die Möglichkeit gehabt hätte, auch die lebende, gesprochene juraksamojedische Sprache kennenzulernen, hätte dies wohl einen neuen Schwung,

vielleicht einen Wendepunkt ihrer Arbeit gegeben. Ihre Tätigkeit und Ergebnisse sind aber auch so fest, sie bilden ein einheitliches Ganzes und sie gereichen zur Ehre der samojedischen Philologie.

Ihre sterbliche Hülle hat die Erde, ihr unvergängliches geistiges Erbe die Sprachwissenschaft in sich geschlossen.

CRITICA

Björn Collinder: Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary. An Etymological Dictionary of the Uralic Languages. Second Revised Edition. Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 1977, 217 S.

B. Collinder ließ die erste Auflage des Werkes in Stockholm 1955 erscheinen. Seit J. Budenz' *Magyar-ugor összehasonlító szótár* [Ung.-ugrisches vgl. Wb.] (Budapest 1873-1881) und O. Donner's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen* (Leipzig 1874-1888) ist Collinders FUV das einzige großzügige Unternehmen auf diesem Gebiet gewesen, das noch dazu als ein etymologisches Wörterbuch (obwohl wegen seines knappen Umfangs nur »Vocabulary« genannt) der gesamten uralischen (und nicht nur der finnisch-ugrischen) Sprachfamilie zugeordnet war. Damals galt das FUV zweifelsohne als eine der hervorragendsten Leistungen der Uralistik, was auch die sachkundigsten Rezensenten — E. Itkonen (UAJb. 28: 56-80) und A. J. Joki (FUFa 32: 42-55) — anerkannten. Dabei wiesen sie freilich auf viele Fragen hin, die noch weiterer Überlegungen bedurft hätten.

Nach 22 Jahren wurde nun eine »second revised edition«, die sich ihrem Umfang nach kaum von der ersten (XXII + 212 S.) unterscheidet, veröffentlicht. So können wir keineswegs mit einem auffallenden Zuwachs an Wortartikeln rechnen, um so mehr erwarten wir, daß das neue FUV sein etymologisches Material auf Grund der konstruktiven Kritiken durchgearbeitet, einige Etymologien besser nachgedacht, die feh-

lerhaften weggelassen und einige von den aus der ersten Auflage fehlenden sicheren Wortvergleichen aufgenommen worden seien, und daß die neue Ausgabe auch einen Teil der Ergebnisse der etymologischen Forschungen der vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten enthalte.

Demjenigen, der das erste FUV gründlich kennt, scheint das neue gut bekannt zu sein, da Aufbau und Einteilung unverändert geblieben sind: Preface . . . (5-6), Abbreviations (7-8), Introduction (9-20), Word-Lists: Uralic Word-List (23-86), Fenno-Ugric Word-List (87-139), List of Indo-European Loan-Words (140-151), Appendix, Uralo-Altaica (152-158), Index verborum (159-207), Index animalium et plantarum (207-209), Bibliography (210-217).

Collinder hat immer ein reges Interesse gezeigt für die Frage nach der Verwandtschaft der uralischen Sprachen mit anderen Sprachgemeinschaften. Die der ersten Auflage (S. XII) entnommene Äußerung scheint jedoch übertrieben und unbegründet zu sein: »Yukagir . . . is obviously related to the Uralic languages« (12; vgl. hierzu Joki: FUFa 32: 45). Wenn man das neue FUV eingehender studiert, wird man einigermaßen enttäuscht: der Verfasser hat die genannten beiden Rezensionen kaum in Betracht gezogen und die neuere etymologische Literatur von 1955 bis 1975 augenscheinlich außer acht gelassen. Es sei noch nebenbei bemerkt, daß Collinders Transkription, die er unverändert von der ersten Auflage übernommen hat, so eigenartig ist,

daß nur Experten der uralischen Sprachen instande sind, die richtigen Lautformen vieler Wörter (manchmal mit Mühe und Not) zu erschließen (vgl. z.B. Steinitz' Anmerkung: »Coll.'s unrichtige Transkription«, DEWOS 327 unter *jik* 'Sohn').

Wir möchten keine eingehendere Kritik über das (neue) FUV ausüben, da es keinen Sinn hätte, eine wertvolle wissenschaftliche Leistung der 50er Jahre 20 Jahre später einer Kritik zu unterziehen. Es wäre jedoch nicht unnützlich, einige Bemerkungen ergänzenden Charakters (möglicherweise ohne sich auf die betreffende Fachliteratur zu berufen) zu machen: S. 16: das *ē* im Ung. ist ein mittelweiter Vokal und nicht »an open variant of *e*« (jedoch richtig auf S. 14). — S. 25: ung. *arasz* 'span' hat sichere ostj. Entsprechungen (s. FUV¹ S. 3!), die unverständlicherweise im FUV² fehlen. — S. 27: wog. *pääji*, N (o: LM) *pal'e* können wegen ihrer inlautenden Konsonanten mit lapp. *bæll'ge* 'thumb' nicht verglichen werden. — S. 30: lapp. *čuo'igá* 'to ski' paßt nicht einmal mit Fragezeichen zu den mitgeteilten wog. und selk. Wörtern. — S. 62: ostj. N *awa* 'the lip of the bear' ist eine Entlehnung von wog. *aawa* '(bear's) head'. — S. 79: unter finn. *te* 'you' müßten die ostj. Personalendungen der 2. P. Pl. mit *t* als sichere etymologische Entsprechungen erwähnt werden. — S. 81: finn. *tyven* 'calm' hat eine gute wog. Entsprechung. — S. 81: lapp. *ak'te* 'kill' hat eine Entsprechung im Ung. — S. 98: ostj. Obdorsk *šægəl'* (o: š-), Kazym *šakep'* 'seal' können wegen ihrer interdialektalen Konsonantenentsprechung š- ~ š-, die auf eine späte Entlehnung hinweist, nicht mit finn. *hylje* verbunden werden. — S. 111: das mit ung. *lep* 'to cover' verglichene ostj. *pyyp, tep* 'sleeping-tent' ist aus dem Syrj. entlehnt worden. — S. 114: finn. *mies* 'man' ist von der ugr. Wortsippe zu trennen und das Fragezeichen vor dem ung. *magyar* 'Hungarian' ist als überflüssig zu streichen. — S. 126: die Etymologie des est. *saps* 'steering-oar' ist irrtümlich (s. NyK 74: 23).

Bei der Beurteilung einiger etymologischer Zusammenhänge können sich die An-

sichten der Forscher voneinander unterscheiden, aber die Richtigkeit der obigen Bemerkungen kann m. E. kaum angezweifelt werden.

Einige weitere Einwendungen:

Es wäre viel zweckmäßiger gewesen, die etymologischen Wortartikel unter den in der »Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages« mitgeteilten rekonstruierten Grundformen anzugeben. — Die ostj. und wog. Mundarten sind bald bezeichnet, bald unbezeichnet geblieben; das Prinzip, nach dem die Angaben aus den obugrischen Dialekten ausgewählt worden sind, scheint nicht klargelegt zu sein. — Nach Joki (FUF 32: 54–55) ist z.B. finn. *kuusi* 'Fichte' eigentlich *Picea excelsa* und nicht *Picea abies*, im neuen FUV steht jedoch die veraltete wissenschaftliche Benennung. — Die englische Deutung für die russische Bedeutung 'v konce' bei tscher. *mučan* ist ein Irrtum.

Wir sind also der Meinung, daß das »Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary« im Laufe der vergangenen 22 Jahre nur den geringsten Änderungen unterzogen wurde. Es ist jedoch zu begrüßen, daß Collinders Buch von bereits großer wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Bedeutung nach über zwanzig Jahren dank dem Helmut Buske Verlag neu erschienen und wieder zugänglich geworden ist.

L. Honti

Tamás Szende: *A beszéd-folyamat alap-tényezői* [Grundfaktoren des Sprechprozesses].

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1976, 197 S.

Von Zeit zu Zeit erhebt sich in jeder Wissenschaft die Notwendigkeit, die Ergebnisse der früheren Forschungen auf Grund neuerer Betrachtungsweise zu überprüfen und mit Hilfe der geeigneten alten und der neuen Ergebnisse die schon als abgeschlossen betrachtete Fragen neu zu stellen bzw. die noch offenen zu lösen. Dabei erheben sich unumgänglich Fragen, die weitere mögliche Forschungsgebiete bestimmen.

In der ungarischen Phonetik war eine aufhebende Synthese schon recht aktuell: bis auf heute war das im Jahre 1944 erschienene Werk, *Fonétika* von Gyula Laziczius (deutsch: *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, Berlin 1961) die beste Arbeit, die das die Sprecherscheinungen dem Niveau der damaligen Zeit entsprechend behandelte. Der 1970 erschienene *A magyar beszédhangok atlasza* [Atlas der ungarischer Sprechlaute] von József Molnár ist vor allem ein den Phonetikunterricht unterstützendes Lehrbuch für Studenten. Außer den neuen Methoden und Ergebnissen bzw. den unbeantworteten Fragen haben die gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnisse und das zunehmende Interesse an der gesprochenen Sprache die vielseitige Beschreibung des Sprechens nötig gemacht.

Diese Bedürfnisse will Tamás Szende mit seiner Synthese erfüllen. Hauptziel war die Begründung der Sprechlinguistik in Ungarn, d. h. die Zusammenfassung aller, in der ungarischen Fachliteratur noch nicht angegangener Aspekte in einer einheitlichen Beschreibung. (Laziczius mußte mit seiner Monographie vor allem beweisen, daß die Phonetik ein Teil der Linguistik ist und nicht ein Zweig der Naturwissenschaft; Szende führt in seinem Werk Argumente an, wonach die Sprechforschung selbstständige Teildisziplin der Sprachwissenschaft sei. Diese Tatsache weist indirekt auf die in der vergangenen Zeit erfolgte sprunghafte Entwicklung hin.) Das Prinzip der Integrierung ist das Prinzip der sprachlichen Gültigkeit: der Komplex der (sprachlichen) Funktion der Sprecherscheinungen und des Leistungsgrades (der Anwendungshäufigkeit) dieser Funktion. Der Zusammengesetztheit des Themas entsprechend verwendet der Verfasser verschiedene Methoden von der begrifflichen Analyse an über experimentale Untersuchungen bis zu der elektronischen Datenverarbeitung. Er bezieht die Untersuchungsmethoden aufeinander, so erreicht er den organischen Zusammenhang der verschiedenen Darlegungen. Die Einteilung des Werkes zeigt

das Verhältnis zu den früheren Ergebnissen. Der Verfasser behandelt gründlicher die Fragen, die in der Fachliteratur mangelhaft oder gar nicht bearbeitet sind (z. B. die Pause, die Junktur, die Verteilungsverhältnisse der Sprecherscheinungen usw.). Im Zusammenhang mit den beruhigend beantworteten Fragen gibt er eine kurze Zusammenfassung und teilt eine reiche ungarische und ausländische Fachbibliographie mit.

Eine allgemeine Einführung (11–19) gibt das Thema an und bestimmt seine Behandlungsmethode; dann folgt die Charakterisierung des Sprechens von physiologischem, akustischem, informationstheoretischem, soziologischem und psychologischem Gesichtspunkt aus (20–68). Das dritte Kapitel behandelt die Grundkomponenten und ihr System (69–138). Im vierten Kapitel können wir über die Funktion der Grundkomponenten im Sprechen und über die Struktur des Sprechvorgang lesen (141–161). Das letzte Kapitel befaßt sich mit theoretischen Fragen der Sprechnorm (161–172). Diese fünf Kapitel werden durch eine Zusammenfassung, ein Literatur- bzw. Abkürzungsverzeichnis und ein Namenregister ergänzt (173–197).

Während der Behandlung des Wesens des Sprechvorgangs wird erst die physiologische Basis – die Sprechorgane und ihr Funktionieren bzw. Mechanismus und Eigenschaften des Hörens – dargelegt. Danach folgt die knappe Zusammenfassung der akustischen Struktur der Sprecherscheinungen. Hier müssen wir bemerken, daß der Verfasser die Konsonanten akustisch einmal mit Getönbereichen (ung. *zajsáv*), andersmal mit Geräuschbereichen (ung. *zörejsáv*) charakterisiert. Das Geräusch (ung. *zörej*) ist ein Begriff der Physik, Ergebnis der Sprechproduktion, das Getön (ung. *zaj*) ist ein Begriff der Psychologie, Ergebnis der Perzeption. Nach der Behandlung der akustischen Relationen des Sprechens kommt seine Darlegung aus informationstheoretischem Gesichtspunkt. Das ist gleich die vollkommendate Be-

schreibung des Sprechvorgangs in der ungarischen linguistischen Fachliteratur.

Das Sprechen ist als ein Fall des menschlichen Verhaltens (in der Form der Reizemanation und der Antwort auf die Reize) auch Forschungsobjekt der Psycholinguistik und es ist — infolge der gesellschaftlichen Bestimmtheit der Kommunikation — auch ein soziolinguistisches Thema. Dem Standpunkt des Verfassers nach sind die gesellschaftlichen Prozesse zugleich sprachliche Prozesse bzw. die gesellschaftlichen Prozesse werden — unter anderem — in sprachlichen Prozessen verwirklicht, infolgedessen kann die Sprachforschung wichtige gesellschaftliche Momente erschließen (z.B. die Schichtung der Gesellschaft). In einem gesonderten Abschnitt wird das Verhältnis zwischen dem sprachlichen System und den anderen kommunikativen Faktoren behandelt. Folgendes wird hier untersucht: die Situationsgebundenheit des Sprechprozesses und das Sprechen als »keine sprachliche« Erscheinung (z.B. unbewußte Lautgebungen, die zufällig Wortformen werden können). In der Übersicht der angegangenen Grenzgebiete hat sich der Verfasser auf die modernste einheimische und ausländische Fachliteratur gestützt.

Im Kapitel »A beszéd-folyamat elemei és elemeinek rendszere« [Elemente des Sprechprozesses und System dieser Elemente] handelt es sich um Erscheinungen, denen bisher in der ungarischen Phonetik noch keine Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wurde (Junktur, Sog. Nebenerscheinungen, expressive Bewegungen, Kompensation usw.). Szendes Annäherung ist folgerichtig sprachlichen Charakters. Als Ausgang klärt er den Begriff des *E l e m e n t s*, das zur Bestimmung der übrigen Grundkomponenten unentbehrlich ist; beim Definieren des Elements wird zugleich der Begriff der schon erwähnten *s p r a c h l i c h e n* *G ü l t i g k e i t* festgesetzt. Die sprachliche Gültigkeit spielt eigentlich eine entscheidende Rolle im System des Verfassers, die die Zugehörigkeit verschiedener Erscheinungen bestimmt. In der Definition

des *P h o n e m s* folgt Szende den Auffassungen von Twaddell, Trubetzkoy und Pike, aus Trubetzkoy's Theorie wird allerdings das Prinzip der Silbentrennung ausgeschlossen. Der Verfasser sieht im Zusammenwirken dieser drei Bestimmungen die Möglichkeit, den ungarischen Phonem- und Sprechlautbestand zu untersuchen. Dies geschieht nach einer kurzen kritischen Zusammenfassung der Forschungsvoraussetzungen im Abschnitt »A magyar fonémák tételezése megkülönböztető jegyek nyálábjában« [Die ungarischen Phoneme in den Bündeln distinktiven Merkmale]. Der Verfasser folgt der Methode und Fachsprache des Jakobson'schen Binarismus und der generativen Phonologie, während aber die generative Phonologie vor allem den Zusammenhang (die gegenseitige Bedingtheit) der distinktiven Merkmale vor Augen hat, zieht Szende in der Bildung des Phonems auch das »Gewicht«, die *q u a n t i t a t i v e* Beteiligung der den Sprachlaut bildenden Lauteigenschaften in Betracht. Diesen neuen Gesichtspunkt kann man aber nur nach langem Betrachten der Matrices der Phoneme erkennen, nicht etwa aus irgendwelcher informierender Erklärung. Es wäre gut gewesen, wenn der Verfasser in einigen Sätzen die Logik dieser Darstellung geschildert hätte. So kann der Leser mit Recht verwirrt innehalten, wenn er sieht, daß z.B. (ø) mit *u n t e r e r* Zungenstellung gebildet wird, für das Phonem (o) die Lippenrundung nicht, aber für (ɔ) charakteristisch ist usw. Mit Anwendung der sprachlichen Gültigkeit als Entscheidungsprinzip nimmt Szende Stellung zur umstrittenen Frage der ungarischen Phonetik und Phonologie, ob die — mit den Worten von János Lotz gesagt — »marginalen Elemente« /a/, /a:/ und /ɛ:/ des Vokalsystems als selbstständige Phoneme zu betrachten sind. Seine Antwort heißt: natürlich sind sie selbstständige Phoneme, da zu ein jedem eine bedeutungsunterscheidende Funktion zugeordnet werden kann, nur im Leistungsgrad dieser Funktion gibt es einen Unterschied zwischen den marginalen und den anderen Phonemen. Mit gleicher Beweis-

führung kommt er zum — von der bisherigen Auffassung abweichenden — Schluß, daß im Konsonantensystem zu einem jeden kurzen Konsonantenphonem ein langes Konsonantenphonem als Paar des kurzen gehört.

Auch bei der Behandlung der suprasegmentalen Elemente sucht der Verfasser zuerst, welche physiologische Momente bei der Aussprache den Grund der sprachlichen Funktion der suprasegmentalen Elemente bilden. In seiner Definition sind die suprasegmentalen Faktoren auf die Sequenz bezügliche Erscheinungen, die die semantische Zone der Mitteilung nicht berühren und zugleich mit mehreren Segmenten zusammenhängen. (Wenn wir aber die unterscheidende Funktion einiger suprasegmentaler Faktoren betrachten, worauf der Verfasser in der gründlichen Darlegung eingeht, müssen wir aus der Definition das Attribut »die semantische Zone nicht berühren« weglassen.) Die Quantität, die Tonhöhe, die Lautstärke und als neues Element, die Junktur werden hierher gezählt.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Quantität geht der Verfasser auf die ungeklärten philosophischen Bezüge ein, dann analysiert er die Zeitlichkeit des Sprechens: Zeitbegriffe als Inhaltsfaktoren, die innere immanente Dauer von Sprecherscheinungen, die sprachliche Rolle dieser Erscheinungen, das Sprechtempo als die Zeitlichkeit des Ganzen des Sprechereignisses. Von der Quantität abweichend bekommen die Veränderungen der Grundfrequenzwerte und der Akzent der Sprechlaute (Phonemrealisationen) im Ungarischen keine Funktion, diese werden nur auf die Stärkung anderer Erscheinungen (Qualität, Betonung) beschränkt. Innerhalb größerer Einheiten (Syntagmen, Sätze) haben sie schon eine wichtige bedeutungsunterscheidende Funktion. Unter den Akzentformationen beschreibt der Verfasser eine Form, die bisher noch nicht behandelt wurde, und zwar die sich allmählich hebende; solche Melodie hat die Frage, die zur Fortsetzung der Kommunikation aufruft (*Mire Judit?*) Die Lautstärke kommt auf der

Frequenzachse in den inneren Intensitätsverhältnissen der Sprechlaute zum Ausdruck und sie wirkt bei der Herausbildung der Qualitäten mit. Die Intensitätsverhältnisse der Zeitachse vertreten die Betonung, derer Grund vor allem der Akzent (Lautstärkemehrwert). Die von Szende aufgestellte Betonungsregel, wonach im Ungarischen die Wortbetonung immer auf der ersten Silbe eines selbstständigen Morphems liegt, ist allgemeingültiger, sie enthält etwa auch die Fälle, in denen nicht die erste Silbe des Wortes betont wird, wie z.B. bei der sog. Gegensatzbetonung.

In der ungarischen phonetischen Literatur ist bis jetzt die sog. Junktur nicht vorgekommen. Sie ist eigentlich die momentane Unterbrechung des Sprechprozesses an Morphemgrenzen mit glottalem Verschuß oder Ausfall der Akkomodationserscheinungen, die sonst für den Sprechprozeß charakteristisch sind. Die Arten der Junktur sind folgende:

1. Mitteilungseinheiten trennende Junktur (beim Einfügen oder Ausschalten von Einwurfen), bzw. 2. innere Junktur, die innerhalb einer Mitteilungseinheit eine trennende Funktion hat. Wir können aber bemerken, daß das Erscheinen der Junktur — im Gegensatz zu den anderen suprasegmentalen Faktoren — nicht obligatorisch ist; in diesem Fall helfen die übrigen charakteristischen Züge der Mitteilung dem Hörer, das Gehörte richtig verstehen zu können. Die delimitative Abgrenzung, heißt es weiter, kann mit der Junktur nicht gleichgesetzt werden, so darf sie auch nicht so genannt werden, da sie außer ihr auch andere Mittel (gebundene Betonung, gewisse Phonemrealisationen usw.) beansprucht.

In einem besonderen Abschnitt werden Erscheinungen behandelt, die zwar zum Ganzen der Kommunikation gehören, aber sie stehen in keinem inhaltlichen Verhältnis zu der Mitteilung. Folgende Erscheinungen gehören hierher: das mit Wegbleiben der Stimmhaftigkeit erzeugte Flüstern, die Aspiration der Ver-

schlußlaute, die stärkere nasale Bildung der Vokale und die seltsamen Ausspracheweisen (schnarrendes Reden, Palatalisierung) mancher Sprechlaute.

In Kenntnis der Tätigkeit von Goldman-Eisler betrachtet der Verfasser die Pause als eine wichtige Komponente des Sprechprozesses und so behandelt er sie von den suprasegmentalen Elementen getrennt. Da die Pause nicht mit dem Schweigen gleich ist, ist auch ihre Definition recht kompliziert. Szende stellt eine metaphorische Definition auf, wonach die Pause »der informationstragende Sequenzbruch des sprachlichen Prozesses« ist. Es lohnt sich aber, diese Definition weiterzudenken, da sie z.B. für die gebundene Betonung, die das wichtige Element bezeichnet und dazu noch gegliedert ist, auch zutreffend ist.

Auf Grund der Untersuchungen der Pausen spontaner Sprechaktivitäten beweist der Verfasser, daß den unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Schichten auch im Ungarischen Pausen unterschiedlicher Größenordnung zustehen. Die größte Zeitdauer gehört zur Pause, die die Mitteilungseinheiten voneinander trennt. Gültig ist auch die Feststellung, daß je kleinere Menge sprachlicher Elemente die Pause zergliedert, desto determinierter ist sie, ihr Erscheinen ist also mit desto größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit zu erwarten. In der Richtung zu den höheren Schichten ist das Erscheinen der Pausen immer zufälliger. Tamás Szende kommt auf Grund des Zusammenhangs, Pause mit größerer Dauer führe sprachliches Element mit größerem Informationswert ein, zum Schluß, daß die Trennungsglieder zwischen den kürzeren Pausen integrierter sind, d.h. die gegenseitige Zuordnung größer ist.

Bei den expressiven Bewegungen werden die die Sprechaktivität begleitenden Bewegungen (Mimik, Gesten) behandelt, die bisher Themen der Paralinguistik waren. In einem extra Abschnitt können wir die Gedanken des Verfassers über die Kompensation lesen, die Ergebnis der Ersetzbarkeit der sprachlichen Elemente ist. Ihr Wesen ist gut illustrierbar mit dem Sprechen der Sträflinge:

dies geschieht ohne Lippenbewegung. Diese kompensierende Eigenschaft der Elemente folgt daraus, daß sie Erzeuger von komplexen Bewegungen sind. Und da die Kompensation Folge des organischen Zusammenhangs der Sprecherscheinungen ist, ist ihre Behandlung geeignet dafür, den Leser zum folgenden Kapitel, zur Besprechung der Organisation der Grundkomponenten in der Funktion des Sprechprozesses zu führen. »Der Sprechprozeß ist eine serielle Struktur und nicht etwa das reihenartige Nacheinander der Elemente« — sagt der Verfasser und er versteht darunter, daß das Sprechen der geregelte Prozeß der Grundkomponenten ist, worin die Folge der Elemente mit abwechselnder Wahrscheinlichkeit voraus zu sagen ist. Dabei gibt es im Sprechprozeß heterogene Schichten auch, die auf solche Weise zum organischen Ganzen geordnet werden, daß die Schicht mit besonderer Rolle die Funktion der anderen Schichten bestimmt.

Der Meinung des Verfassers nach ist die Funktion des Sprechprozesses am ehesten in den Verteilungsverhältnissen und Häufigkeitsindizes der aus Elementenzustände gekommenen Grundkomponenten zu ergreifen. Auf Grund der Analyse von spontanem Sprechmaterial werden die ungarischen Phoneme hinsichtlich der Häufigkeit charakterisiert, bei jedem wird auch sein Informationsindex angegeben. Der Verfasser gibt eine Statistik über die Unterscheidungsmerkmale der wichtigsten ungarischen Oppositionen. Wir erfahren daraus, daß fürs ungarische Sprechen die kurzen, nicht gerundeten, stimmhaften Laute, die vorne, mit niederer Zungenstellung gebildet werden, charakteristisch sind. (Es würde sich lohnen, dieses objektive Ergebnis mit den Erfahrungen eines fremdsprachigen Zuhörers zu vergleichen.) Nach dem Phonem folgt die zweifache Lautverbindung: das interessanteste Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung ist, daß die Häufigkeit der Glieder einer Lautverbindung in großem auch dann gleich sind, wenn ihre Reihenfolge umgekehrt ist (Spiegelkombinationen), was darauf hinweist, daß die Lautver-

bindung wirklich eine selbstständige Organisationseinheit des Sprechprozesses ist. Es scheint aber so, daß auf der Ebene der konkreten Verwirklichung dieser Zusammenhang — besonders im Falle der Konsonantenverbindungen — von beschränkter Gültigkeit ist, z.B. aus $[t +]$ wird $[t]$, aber $[- + t]$ bleibt $[- + t]$.

Über der Bestimmung der weiteren Organisationsebenen — oder wie es Szende nennt — *Organismustypen* entscheidet der Verfasser mit Einbeziehen sprachlicher, phonetischer und informationstheoretischer Kriterien. Die so bestimmte Silbe, das Wort und die Phrase haben aus allen drei Gesichtspunkten eine selbstständige Gültigkeit. Beim Aufstellen der Silbenregeln stützt sich der Verfasser auf die Gesamtheit interlingualer und nur für das Ungarische gültiger Regeln, so kann er nuancierte Regeln geben. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Wort erschließt er die Regeln, die die Anordnung der das Wort bildenden Phoneme lenken (phonotaktische Regeln) und so die ungarischen Wörter charakterisieren. Die wichtigsten Größenindexe werden auch angegeben. Die Phrase entspricht aus Gesichtspunkt der Bildung einem Mitteilungsabschnitt, der mit einem Atem ausgesprochen wird. Phonetisch wird es durch die einheitliche Intonationsform charakterisiert, das sprachliche Ergebnis ist die phonemische Phrase, die unterscheidende Rolle hat und die in der grammatischen Teilungseinheiten der Mitteilung zustande kommt.

Als letztes behandelt der Verfasser eine der wichtigsten Fragen der Funktion des Sprechprozesses, nämlich die *Sprechnorm*. Diese wird mit dem Aneinanderstellen zweier Gesichtspunkte (1. die Norm wird aus dem Sprachsystem hergeleitet; 2. als Grund wird nur der Sprachgebrauch betrachtet) als »koordinierendes Prinzip« zwischen dem sprachlichen System und dem Sprachgebrauch angeordnet. Dieses Prinzip koordiniert die Regeln des Systems mit den Faktoren der konkreten Verwirklichung, die in das Sprachsystem nicht einzu-beziehen sind, aber die hinsichtlich des Kommunikationsganzen notwendig sind.

Die Norm, die sich in den gültigen Normativen verkörpert, ist nicht gleich mit dem Durchschnittlichen, d.h. mit dem *Gewöhnlichen*. Die Norm verändert sich den Umgestaltungen der Grundkomponenten entsprechend, die zu koordinieren sind, so ist sie eher als ein regulatives Verfahren zu betrachten als eine verbindliche Vorschrift, die ihrem Wesen nach unveränderlich ist. Die Norm ist in geschichtlicher, gesellschaftlicher und sprachgeographischer Hinsicht auch nichtständig.

Das Werk von Tamás Szende ergänzt unsere Kenntnisse über das Sprechen. Dieses Buch bedeutet für ungarisch lesende Linguisten, Pädagogen und Fachleute, die sich mit der Aussprache beschäftigen das, was das von Bertil Malmberg herausgegebene Werk »Manuel of Phonetics« darstellt. Die Fragen und Antworten zeigen, in welcher Richtung die Forschungen notwendig sind. Da wir eine echte wissenschaftliche Zusammenfassung in den Händen haben, müssen wir mit einer schweren Sprache rechnen. Im Interesse des Lesers wäre es allerdings nützlich gewesen, die Behandlungen mit einigen Abbildungen zu unterstützen, z.B. bei der Beschreibung der physiologischen Basis, bei der Besprechung der akustischen Struktur der Sprechfaktoren, bei der Junktur usw. Die keine Zeit oder keinen Anspruch haben, sich mit den Einzelfragen zu befassen, können die wichtigsten Informationen aus einer knappen, das Wesen ergreifender Zusammenfassung kennenlernen. Ein Sachregister hätte helfen können, auch die Einzelfragen in der Anhäufung der Kenntnisse über das Sprechen leichter finden zu können.

Ilona Kassai

Working Papers of the Hungarian-English Contrastive Linguistics Project

0. Research in contrastive linguistics may be considered as one of the inter- or peripheral disciplines within linguistics,

high seem to proliferate these days. Its immediate objective is to aid foreign language learning by clarifying essential problems of the divergences and possibly similarities between the languages in question via systematic comparisons and confrontations. They can thereby facilitate the creation of new and more efficient teaching materials based on the results provided. Contrastive linguistics can thus be seen to be located at the intersection of typology, i.e., purely theoretical research focussing on structural comparisons between languages, and a practice-oriented investigation of language teaching methods. The question whether contrastive linguistics can constitute a discipline in its own right is, in principle, open to debate. There is, however, little doubt that research projects with such design have been initiated all over the world and, despite any possible theoretical reservations, significant results have emerged. That might be mainly due to the fact that contrastive linguistics is of a predictive nature; it allows us to formulate predictions concerning possible errors of language learners, the location and degree of the difficulties that may arise in learning a second language as well as those of the positive influence of the mother tongue (phenomena of interference and transfer).

Contacts with European socialist countries, aimed at setting up basic conditions for contrastive research were first began to be established in the mid-sixties by the Center for Applied Linguistics and its then director, the late Professor John Lotz. Having actually started projects in Yugoslavia, Romania, and Poland, an English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project was inaugurated at the Research Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in June 1971. In both scientific and organizational matters, the Project was assisted both by the Institute and the Center for Applied Linguistics, and was financially sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It had a staff of 18 and several "external" members from various institutions.

1. The first three publications of the Project cannot be taken as research reports as is clear from the dates they bear. The first two of them made available for the general public seven brief papers on contrastive and Hungarian linguistics by John Lotz.

Volume 1 contains two studies in contrastive phonology.¹ One of them is concerned with the diverging properties in the two languages of clusters made up by obstruents.² It emphasizes the identical strategy of the two languages in that consonant clusters of these sounds in word-final position are either voiced (lax), or voiceless (tense). The study deals with the attachment of suffixes to stems containing the above sounds and concludes that the direction of assimilation is progressive in English while regressive in Hungarian. One of the consequences can be that the Hungarians learning English are likely to say /dɒks/ for /dɒgs/ just as much as the English learning Hungarian tend to pronounce the word *háztól* 'from house' /hãzdõl/ rather than the appropriate /hãstõl/ 'from house'.

The second paper examines the function of semivowels (like /j/, /w/, /h/).³ The occurrences of /w/ in Hungarian are much more limited than in English where it is distinguished from both /u/ and /v/. It appears only in a small number of Hungarian words (e.g., *autó* 'car', *Európa* 'Europe'). Hungarian /h/ is, on the contrary, shown to have a much wider allophonic range than its English counterpart. The same applies to /j/ which can be both voiced and voiceless and has a larger distribution than in English (where, for instance, it cannot occur at all

¹ John Lotz, Two Papers on English-Hungarian Contrastive Phonology. 1972. 12 pp.

² Contrastive Study of the Morphophonemics of Obstruent Clusters in English and Hungarian. In: John Lotz, Two Papers . . . (see footnote 1) 3-7.

³ Comparison of the Glides (Semivowels) in English and Hungarian. In: John Lotz, Two Papers . . . 8-12 (see footnote 1).

in a consonant cluster finals). The characteristics of the sounds, the sources of their transient articulation as well as their allophones are described and their occurrences in the two languages contrasted.

2. The second anthology of papers by John Lotz is focussed mainly on problems of script.⁴ They have less contrastive purport than those of the first volume, and are the materials of lectures held at Columbia University on the one hand, and, on the other, the interim results of his efforts in the last decade of his life at preparing the new edition of *Das ungarische Sprachsystem*.

The three papers on Hungarian are prefaced by a short discussion of the general nature of script and a select bibliography.⁵ Lotz's concept of the function of script is entirely new. In contradiction to the American descriptivist tradition in linguistics, which has been very much opposed to the study of script he suggests that — despite its being secondary to speech from both phylogenetic and ontogenetic points of view — script can be construed as an autonomous system in the face of the evidence, script may fail to reflect certain characteristics of speech but, at the same time, there are forms in writing speech is unable to express (capitals, abbreviations, and the like). Moreover, script exhibits a close correspondence with "underlying" morphological forms. It is exactly the principles of descriptive linguistics which implies the necessity of considering script as a structurally independent system. Writing can be examined in three aspects: the relationships between (1) script and meaning, (2) script and morphemic units, and (3) script and speech.

The framework provided by the first paper is utilized in "Hungarian Script".⁶ Lotz outlines the following programme for the study of writing systems. (i) The structure of script (inventory of constituents separating letters and diacritic signs and their "syntax", i.e., rules of joining them into larger units [words, compound words, hyphenated complexes] hyphenation, interpunctuation, and the like). (ii) Pragmatics of script (comparison of handwriting and typing or printing; emotional features, etc.). The aims laid down in the study are partly realized. Forms used in writing are subjected to thorough analyses. Principles for investigating the structure of texts are also included.

The subsequent, more practical, paper published in the same volume⁷ is in close connection with "Hungarian Script". Apart from serving as an aid to reading exercises for non-Hungarians, it sets as its objective the projection of Hungarian writing onto speech characterized in phonological terms. The rules of correspondence can be grouped under three types:

(i) Morphophonetic alternations (e.g., word-final voicing or devoicing before a voiced or voiceless obstruent, respectively, cf. Hung. /rēs/ in /rēstöl/ vs. /rēzben/ 'part, from part, in part'; and /rēz/ in /rēstöl/ vs. /rēzben/ 'copper, from copper, in copper').

(ii) Phonological derivations (e.g., the lengthening of word final and intervocal 'dz' and 'dž'; cf. *edz* /eddz/ 'train').

(iii) Idiosyncrasies (e.g., 'y' = /i/ in proper names). The list of fifteen rules is supplemented by a sample text in which the application of the rules is exemplified.

The last paper in this booklet⁸ is associated with the problems of script only in so far as it makes a short reference to the or-

⁴ John Lotz, *Script, Grammar, and the Hungarian Writing System*. 1972. 48 pp.

⁵ *Script in the Framework of Grammatical Theory and Select Bibliography on Script and Language*. In: John Lotz, *Script, Grammar* . . . 7–11 and 13–14 (see footnote 4).

⁶ *Hungarian Script*. In: John Lotz, *Script, Grammar* . . . 17–26.

⁷ *The Conversion of Script to Speech as Exemplified by Hungarian*. In: John Lotz, *Script, Grammar* . . . 27–39.

⁸ *The Imperative in Hungarian (Spoken and Written)*. In: John Lotz, *Script, Grammar* . . . 41–47 (see footnote 4).

thography of imperative forms. The central issue is, however, the morphophonemics of the imperative in Hungarian. Imperative forms fit into the entire system of Hungarian morphophonemic alternation smoothly except for one difficulty: the great number of alternants of the explicit morpheme of the imperative. In addition, several verbs display more than one alternant, and there are some verbs which have a single alternant for the imperative suffix. This impressive variation is in accordance with the whole morphophonemic system of the Hungarian language, discussed by John Lotz in the introduction.

3. The third item in the series, published in 1972, comprises a survey of English-Hungarian contrastive research projects in progress throughout the United States, written by the American linguist, consultant to the Project and co-editor of the Working Papers, *William Nemser*.⁹ Printed in due time, the paper contributed greatly to helping Hungarian researchers in their subsequent work.

4. The first results of the English-Hungarian Contrastive Project were presented at a conference in Pécs (South Hungary), 1971, on the 'Theoretical and Practical Issues in Contrastive Grammars of Modern Languages'. Four of the lectures were then published in the next volume of the series.¹⁰

4.1. A joint survey by *László Dezső* and *William Nemser*¹¹ deals with problems of general nature since contrastive linguistics has had no solid theoretical foundations, it seemed to be important to clarify its potential and actual connections with theoretical linguistics. Dezső and Nemser exam-

ined one of the trends in typological research: in detail: the typology of word order and its interaction with contrastive linguistics. For several years Dezső studied the order of subject, verb, and object in various languages, according to principles first proposed by J. Greenberg.¹² Nemser, in turn, introduced the concept of 'approximative systems' into contrastive linguistics. These are defined as linguistic systems which are formed by the language learner during the acquisition of a foreign language, are intermediary between the mother tongue and the foreign idiom and reflect a gradual increase in the mastery of the foreign language. An amalgamation of the above two sets of concepts appears to produce results worth of attention. There is, for instance, a new technique available for specifying intermediate word order patterns (i.e., approximative systems) through which the acquisition of a foreign pattern will most efficiently be achieved in cases of structural divergence between the mother tongue and the second language concerning type of word ordering. Similar statements can be derived from other universals in typology as well. At the same time we have the implication that, given the directions of language learning, unique approximative systems between two languages defined at the level of the individual foreign language learner can be generalized into 'approximative languages' which, in turn, represent universally valid sequences in learning the language in question.

4.2. The second paper studies a problem sooner or later encountered by virtually all learners of English: the differences between the pronunciation of British and American English. *Éva Diósy-Stephanides* gives a systematic phonetic account of the dissimilarities between the phonetic stocks of the two languages as well as between those and

⁹ William Nemser, *Contrastive Research on Hungarian and English in the United States*. 1972. 43 pp.

¹⁰ Four Papers of the Pécs Conference on Contrastive Linguistics. 1973, 65 pp.

¹¹ Language Typology and Contrastive Linguistics. In: Four Papers ... 3-26 (see footnote 10).

¹² J. H. Greenberg, *Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements*. In: J. H. Greenberg, *Universals of Language*. Cambridge (Mass.) 1963, 58-90.

Hungarian sounds.¹³ Articulatory and distributional divergences between the two English languages as well as in an English-Hungarian contrast are discussed, followed by a treatment of predictable errors made by Hungarian learners.

4.3. *Ádám Nádasdy* examined interrogative sentences in English and ways of teaching them to Hungarians.¹⁴ The problem is apparently insignificant, considering the relative simplicity of rules governing the construction of interrogative sentences. Still, language learners have been found to commit more mistakes in this domain than expected. One of the main reasons for this, according to the author, is that a rule in Hungarian called 'Fogarasi Principle' prescribes the placement of the finite verb of the predicate immediately after the question word (irrespective of where a question word actually occurs within a sentence). This rule of word order is then erroneously transferred to the English sentences the learners construct. Further reinforcement of the mistaken transfer stems from the fact that a subgroup of English questions (with the question-word as subject) are structurally identical with the general question pattern in Hungarian. Nádasdy suggests that more attention be paid than has so far been to teaching the subgroup of English questions dissimilar to the Hungarian pattern, and in addition, that English question patterns be introduced in a newly arranged order, reckoning in the difficulties predicted for Hungarians.

4.4. It is an interesting as well as useful task that *Éva Stephanides* accomplished when she compared the textbooks of

English in current use in Hungary in several respects.¹⁵ She examined, among others, the sequential order in which tenses are introduced by the respective authors. The order of the introduction of tenses in the curriculum cannot, of course, be solely determined on the basis of a simplicity-complexity measure. Additional factors to rely on include the extent to which one or another tense is needed in the starting phase of teaching (demonstrability), the relations through which various tenses may be built upon each other, and so on. The comparisons may convey surprising information to the reader. Textbooks for foreign learners published in Great Britain show consistent divergences from those written by Hungarian authors; for example, learners using books published in Hungary are bound to meet Present Perfect Tense at a significantly later stage than those studying from British editions. Further confrontation of the textbooks shows that exercises for the acquisition of word order are generally scarce; British editions contain less material for practising non-finite constructions — as contrasted with Hungarian textbooks.

5. The first research report in the series is again a work by *Éva Stephanides*. Its subject is a comparison of English and Hungarian articles.¹⁶ A single datum may suffice to demonstrate its importance; nearly 20 per cent of the total errors in the written control tests were connected with the use of articles. In the first chapter, the author examines the role of articles in the grammatical systems of the two languages. She determines the class of determiners — including, among others, all articles — and the distribution of articles with respect to that of the other members of the class. Then she surveys the constituents modified by the determiners (nouns and noun phrases), and examines the distribution of articles in their

¹³ *Éva Diósy-Stephanides*, *Contrastive Aspects of British and American English with Implications for Hungarian Learners of English*. In: *Four Papers...* 27–43 (see footnote 10).

¹⁴ *Interrogative Sentences in English: A Language Teaching Problem for Hungarians*. In: *Four Papers...* 45–52.

¹⁵ *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Textbooks of English*. In: *Four Papers...* 53–65.

¹⁶ *A Contrastive Study of the English and Hungarian Article*. 1974. 123 pp.

individual subclasses. The classification is based on abstract semantico-syntactic features (countable, concrete, definite, total, individual, anaphoric, actualized, deictic, specific, etc.), and the combinations of the features ought to predict the use of articles in the two languages, according to the author. Each case is illustrated by a generous number of examples. The Hungarian noun phrase with zero article, e.g.,

Egér van a szobában.

Mouse is the room-in.

'There is a mouse/are mice in the room.' is thoroughly analyzed as to its meaning and translatability into English. In the second section of the paper the individual constructions are discussed in detail according to the classification in Chapter One with reference to their syntactic functions. Differences between the two languages are located and possible errors of language learners predicted.

However, Stephanides' work is not free of shortcomings. For example, the application of the distinctive features mentioned above appears to be rather inconsistent. Complexes of various features (e.g., NP → [— countable, + concrete, + definite, + total], 30) are found to alternate with simple patterns (e.g., NP → [+ total], 31). The function of the arrows in the characterizations is not clearly explained; nor is any feature hierarchy provided in which the features could be interrelated. Although in the discussion of NPs the relatively most extensive analysis is devoted to genitive constructions, an important problem seems to have escaped the author's attention: the fact that even if the head of an English genitive construction may be indefinite (cf. 'a leg of the chair'), Hungarian genitive constructions appear to be consistently definite, even when its head has an indefinite article. This is clearly shown by the occurrence of the objective conjugation suffix of Hungarian *A szék egy(ik) lábát faragom* and not **A szék egy(ik) lábát faragok* 'I am carving a leg (one of the legs) of the chair'. Such an error as in the starred example will probably appear in the speech of English learn-

ers of Hungarian. Furthermore, the author rashly enough considers *stone* in *stone wall* as a modifier (when comparing *stone wall* with its Hungarian equivalent *kőfal* or making analogous confrontations) and the combination of the two English words as a modifier + head construction while the Hungarian equivalent a compound: "Nouns in English can often modify other nouns without changing their forms [...]. When a noun [in Hungarian] modifies another noun, their relation is generally so close that they form a compound word." (36). As has been demonstrated by R. B. Lees,¹⁷ combinations of two nouns are best treated as compounds in English as well, mainly because of the complexity of their internal semantic relations and the difficulty of their syntactic derivation. Beyond offering predictions, Stephanides makes it possible for the reader to check them on the basis of the data from error analyses. However, it would have been more useful if she had presented not only the number of errors but also the total of the occurrences of the construction in question.

As a whole, this work will probably be a practicable aid in constructing textbooks and other materials for learning English as well as in evaluating the difficulties encountered in the use of articles. It may also be used as a reference work for further contrastive research in this topic.

6. In his extensive study of the prosody of English and Hungarian, *László Varga* set the objective of enumerating all the prosodic devices of English (whether American or British) as well as Hungarian which are comparable on the basis of sentence-internal formal properties.¹⁸ The choice of the topic calls for a taxonomic approach which is what Varga proclaims to do. He has accomplished a formidable task in exploring large stretches of terra incognita for further

¹⁷ R. B. Lees, *The Grammar of English Nominalizations*. The Hague 1973, 123, 171 and passim.

¹⁸ *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Sentence Prosody*. 1975. 141 pp.

research. Moreover, his findings can be directly applied for the practical purposes of language teaching.

The book is divided into two large sections: problems of stress and intonation. They are preceded by a brief survey of the literature of the field. Linguists with a theoretical interest may perhaps find this introduction less than sufficient. However, if they do, it is not Varga to blame, for he did not undertake to provide a general description of prosodic features on the one hand; and on the other, the work itself bears the signs of the sound theoretical foundations Varga has acquired. His own goal is defined as describing contrastive sentence prosody. To achieve that, a unit smaller than the sentence had to be taken as a point of departure. The tone-group, which appeared to serve this purpose well, is characterized as "bounded at both ends by (suppressible) pauses, and has a STR[ess] pattern and an INT[onation] pattern" (8). The concise introduction is followed by an outline of the terminology and the list of prosodic devices available in the two languages. Adhering to the concept most widespread in British or American literature, the number of stress levels (grades) is limited to four. A short demonstration of major intonation patterns is then presented.

The longest section of the paper (29—92) discusses stress phenomena first within phrases (29—74), then in sentences. Problems of intonation are given relatively smaller space (93—127). The work of László Varga deserves attention not only as a contrastive analysis but as the first comprehensive and thorough effort to analyze the stress system of intrasentential units in Hungarian. Even so, the method chosen by the author does not, perhaps, avoid misinterpretation concerning one issue. Since the units of analysis (his tone-groups) were established in Hungarian in view of their English counterparts and since Varga claims at the very beginning that "all English tone-groups are *single-focused*" (12) it is small wonder that in contrast to English tone-groups, "a Hungarian tone-group is

either single-focused or multi-focused" (13). Varga borrows the concept of tone-group from Halliday (8), who writes in this connection: "In each tone group [...] one and only one of the strong syllables carries the major part of the pitch movement — or rather, more accurately, carries the part of pitch movement by which the tone group can be identified for tone."¹⁹ (114). The syllable in question is the only syllable in the tone-group which has a primary stress. In isolated tone-groups it is usually the last (or 'rightmost') element of a 'major' word class (verb, noun, or adverb) which is assigned a primary stress (according to the estimations of the author this covers 69.73 per cent of all cases), irrespectively to whether or not the relevant phrases are in a sentence or clause-final position, in which case these phrases cannot have a primary stress at all. At most they can be assigned contrastive or affective stress. In consequence of this, the predictions concerning the use of the phrase 'sons and 'daughters, where "stands for primary stress and 'for secondary stress, to the effect that Hungarian learners of English would pronounce the above phrase as "sons and "daughters imitating the Hungarian model "fiúk és "lányok (see 40—41) seem to be unfounded. The author ignores the intrasentential position of these tone-groups (e.g.) ,My 'sons and 'daughters are 'here versus They are ,my 'sons and "daughters. Similar difficulties arise at several points later on (in case of modifier plus head and verb plus object constructions, among others). In other words, the definition of tone-groups is appropriate but primary stresses can only be assigned in sentences relying on additional criteria like pause and intonation. The fact that the Hungarian phrases corresponding to English tone-groups may display more than one constituent with primary stress is, then, accounted for by the difference in the intonations of the two languages.

¹⁹ M. A. K. Halliday, *Intonation Systems in English*. In: McIntosh and Halliday (eds), *Patterns of Languages*. London 1966. 111—133.

Although this problem has been discussed at length in the present review it is certainly of little importance in the context of the whole work. Based on an exhaustive collection of data and precise analyses, exemplary in sound predictions, Varga's book can be assessed as standing out of the set of research reports published up to now.

7. The last volume in the series is a comparison of Hungarian postpositions and corresponding English prepositions, by *Kálmán Keresztes*.²⁰ Postpositions in Hungarian are taken as a basic array and English prepositions treated in conjunction with them. The following groups are established: (i) Spatial relation-words marking direction: e.g. *alatt* 'under, below'; (ii) Spatial relation-words not marking direction: e.g., *mentén* 'along'; (iii) temporal relation-words; e.g., *óta* 'since'; abstract relation-words e.g., *miatt* 'on account of'. Relation-words of a primarily spatial reference (groups (i) and (ii)) allow further semantic categorization, according to (i) spatial, (ii) numerical, (iii) abstract and (iv) temporal relations. Metaphorical uses are also discussed under each of the groups. Due to the nature of the topic, the treatment cannot be consistent. The Hungarian postposition *fellett* may, for instance, be primarily represented by English *over* and *above*; the preposition *above*, however, abounds in uses which can be rendered in Hungarian by *-n/-on/-en/-ön*; *-val kapcsolatban*; *-n keresztül/át* and others. That is, however, a consequence of the nature of Keresztes' enterprise; beside, frequent cross-references guarantee that interrelations of this kind will not be lost. Orientation is further promoted by a tabulated summary of polysemic postpositions. Stylistic variants for both English prepositions and Hungarian postpositions are well distinguished. The author proves to be no less successful in the selection of examples.

²⁰ Hungarian Postpositions versus Prepositions: a Contrastive Study. 1975. 203 pp.

It would be easy to blame Keresztes for giving no outlines of the spatial and temporal reference systems of the two languages beyond the classifications mentioned. In order to achieve that he must have enlarged the scope of his work to include simple suffixes as well as prepositions, which would have added to his task and, of course, would have greatly increased the length of the book as well. Another objection may perhaps be more justified; the author has no sound reasons for ignoring some previous studies of fundamental importance including László Antal's,²¹ Robert A. Hall's²² as well as a paper by Paul Garvin²³ concerning Hungarian suffixes and postpositions. The classifications themselves are careful and apparently complete, though the Hungarian postpositions *gyanánt* 'as' and *hoszzat* 'for' are omitted entirely and *iránt* 'for' mentioned only in passing. Sometimes they even seem to be too generous. Hungarian *terén* and *képében* can no more be regarded to belong within the set of postpositions than the corresponding *in the field of* and *in the appearance of* within the group of prepositions. They might better be considered as figurative uses of the nouns embedded. As far as interests beyond direct matching of Hungarian postpositions with English prepositions are concerned, the book is not very instructive. The author fails to analyze prepositions with respect to whether they designate location or co-occur with motion verbs,²⁴ which might have implied a more coherent grouping in pairing Hungarian postpositions with their English counterparts. In the section entitled "Concluding Remarks" Keresztes elaborates his suggestion that sound-film and so-called receptive

²¹ László Antal, *A magyar esetrendszer*. Budapest 1961.

²² R. A. Hall, Sr., *Hungarian Grammar*. Baltimore 1944.

²³ Paul Garvin, *Pure-relational suffixes and postpositions in Hungarian*. In: *Language* 21.

²⁴ Cf. Ranko Bugarski, *Predlozi over, under, above, below and beneath u savremenom engleskom jeziku*. Beograd 1969.

learning should play a major role in language teaching. And although we are given some information about how the author's daughter learnt English, we are left to guess why the activity of the language learners in individual speech and conversation should be neglected in the initial phase of language learning. Even more alarming is the fact that we are unable to realize how these proposals are connected to the theme of the book. On the whole, it is hard to find any grounds on which to consider Keresztes's work to be more than a kind of manual, or compendium to a dictionary, since it falls short of proper linguistic findings.

I. Kenesei

G. E. Booij: *Dutch Morphology. A Study of Word Formation in Generative Grammar*. Lisse, The Peter de Ridder Press 1977. 181 p.

1. Das Werk des jungen niederländischen Linguisten ist eine Doktorarbeit, die von seinem Professor W. G. Klooster an der Universität Amsterdam betreut wurde.

Die Untersuchung der Morphologie im Rahmen der generativen Grammatik ist ein verhältnismäßig neues Arbeitsfeld der modernen Linguistik. Die bisherigen Arbeiten in diesem Bereich, auf die sich der Autor beruft, sind meist in den 70er Jahren erschienen und bieten noch keinesfalls eine erschöpfende Behandlung der Problematik und somit auch keine endgültigen Ergebnisse. Die Studie von M. Halle (*Prolegomena to a Theory of Word Formation*. Linguistic Inquiry 1973) hat z.B. einen mehr programmatischen Charakter »to attract others into research on this topic« (Halle, 3). Das ist aber nicht der einzige Grund, warum bereits der Titel von Booij's Studie unsere Aufmerksamkeit erregen mag. Es ist erfreulich, daß immer mehr Sprachen, selbst »kleine« Sprachen, in die Untersuchungen der generativen Grammatik einbezogen werden.

Der Autor hat übrigens natürlich nicht ausschließlich die niederländische Sprache

vor Augen. Erstens wird die bisherige einschlägige — meist englische — Literatur kritisch gewertet. Zweitens ergibt sich aus der Natur des Themas: »If we try to explain the competence of native speakers of Dutch, this implies that we should relate the structural principles on that competence as much as possible to the general principles which are valid for every language and which are specified in the general theory of language. On the other hand, the investigation of Dutch can contribute to the formulation of a more adequate general theory of language« (S.2). Schließlich soll erwähnt werden, daß der Autor als Argumente zur Unterstützung seiner Hypothesen oft Beispiele aus anderen Sprachen bringt, so aus dem Türkischen, Französischen, Lateinischen, Dänischen usw.

Trotzdem ist die niederländische Sprache das Hauptanliegen des Werks. Der Gegenstand der Studie ist — nach der niederländisch geschriebenen einleitenden Zusammenfassung — »die Frage, wie die Wortbildung, speziell die des Niederländischen, im Rahmen der generativen Grammatik beschrieben werden soll.« Als »Wortbildung« werden hauptsächlich nur Derivation und Komposition behandelt. Selbst was diese zwei Hauptarten der Wortbildung betrifft, erstrebt der Autor keine Vollständigkeit.

2. Die Arbeit besteht aus drei Hauptabschnitten. Im ersten (*The Nature of Word Formation. Rules 1—54*) werden im allgemeinen die Wortbildungsregeln (im weiteren: WB-Regeln) charakterisiert. Auf die kurze Erörterung von drei präliminären Prinzipien (WB-Regeln bilden einen Teil der Sprachkompetenz; der Begriff »komplexes Wort«, d.h. polymorphematisches Wort, dürfte nicht im voraus definiert werden; die Produktivität wird bestimmt von verschiedenen, aufeinander einwirkenden Restriktionen der Kompetenz) folgt die kritische Behandlung der bisherigen Theorien über die WB im Rahmen der generativen Grammatik.

Als Erstes wird bewiesen, daß die Theorien, die die WB-Prozesse mit Hilfe von

syntaktischen Transformationen zu beschreiben versuchen, abzulehnen sind. Der Autor behauptet, daß diese Theorien (Lees, Botha) unüberwindbare Probleme aufwerfen, z.B. was die nicht vorhersagbaren idiosynkratischen Eigenschaften von komplexen Wörtern betrifft. Der Autor selbst tritt für die »lexikalistische« (*lexicalist*) Theorie ein. Die einschlägigen Theorien von Halle und Jackendoff werden kritisch behandelt; die letztere wird angenommen. Weiterhin wird die Hypothese von Aronoff unterstützt, daß nämlich WB-Regeln immer nur ein Affix zum Wort hinzufügen. Im Zusammenhang damit beweist der Autor für das Niederländische, was Aronoff in bezug auf das Englische bereits bewiesen hat, daß nämlich die Basis der WB im Niederländischen nicht der Stamm, sondern das Wort ist.

Am Anfang der einzelnen Abschnitte werden Thema und Absicht klar ausgesprochen, und am Ende die Ergebnisse und Schlußfolgerungen zusammengefaßt. Diese Methode macht das hauptsächlich theoretische Werk gut überschaubar und verständlich. Der Autor äußert sich über jede behandelte Theorie, er hat ein entschiedenes und eindeutiges Urteil: entweder lehnt er sie eindeutig ab oder nimmt sie an. Seine Meinung unterstützt er mit reichlichen Argumenten. Die selbständige und entschlossene Meinung des Autors ist einerseits sympathisch, andererseits scheinen aber seine Argumente nicht immer so überzeugend für die eine Seite zu sprechen, wie dies der Autor meint. Außerdem kann dieses eindeutige Urteil manchmal übertrieben sein, und zwar in der Hinsicht, wenn unbedingt »100%-ig gültige«, alle Probleme lösende Theorien aufgestellt werden.

Als Beispiel für diese kategorische Urteilsbildung kann der letzte Abschnitt des ersten Kapitels erwähnt werden, der das Verhältnis zwischen Wortbildung und Flexion behandelt. WB und Flexion werden bekanntlich voneinander traditionell unterschieden auf Grund bestimmter Fakten, z.B. der peripherischen Position der Flexive, woraus sich ihre unterschiedliche Stel-

lung in der generativen Grammatik ergibt (WB in der WB-Komponente — Flexion in der syntaktischen Komponente). Dabei gibt es nicht wenige Gegenbeispiele für die übliche Reihenfolge der Suffixe und Flexive, z.B. *minderheid* 'Minderheit', wo -er Komparativendung, -heid Suffix ist. De Groot, der für die Trennung von WB und Flexion plädiert, will beweisen, daß in diesen Fällen die Flexive eigentlich nicht mehr die Funktion einer Flexion haben. (Auch De Groot will die »Ausnahmen«, die die Gesetzmäßigkeit stören, beseitigen.) Booij verwirft mit überzeugenden Beweisen die wirklich schwache Argumentation von De Groot, und löst das ganze Problem einfach mit der Theorie, daß WB und Flexion nicht völlig voneinander getrennt werden können. Er argumentiert unter anderem mit Wörtern, wo eine ursprüngliche Flexionsendung etwa die Funktion eines WB-Elements hat: *stadsraad* — 'Stadtrat, Rat einer Stadt' (-s; urspr. Endung des Gen. Sg.), *stedenraad* — 'Rat der Städte' (en; urspr. Pluralendung bzw. -suffix). So gelingt es Booij, für die »unerklärlichen« Fälle eine allgemeingültige Lösung zu finden, doch sind seine Beweise nicht ohne weiteres überzeugend, ja sie regen zur Diskussion an.

Die grundlegende Aussage des ersten Abschnittes: »Das Lexikon einer generativen Grammatik soll neben der Beschreibung von allen bestehenden Wörtern auch eine Sammlung von WB-Regeln enthalten. Diese Regeln sagen einerseits vorher, welche Information in bezug auf die bestehenden polymorphematischen Wörter redundant ist, und geben andererseits an, wie die Zahl polymorphematischer Wörter einer Sprache erweitert werden kann. WB-Regeln sind nicht-transformationelle, strukturbauende Regeln. Auch die Flexion soll durch Regeln im Lexikon geregelt werden.«

3. Der zweite Abschnitt (*Phonological Evidence for Non-Phonological Properties of Complex Words*, 55—119) bringt phonologische Beweise für einige Hypothesen hinsichtlich der morphologischen Struktur der komplexen Wörter. Zwei Aspekte der

Struktur der komplexen Wörter werden behandelt: die sog. inneren Grenzen (*internal boundaries*) und die sog. inneren Klammern (*internal labeled brackets*).

In bezug auf die inneren Grenzen wird zuerst die Hypothese verfochten, daß in den komplexen Wörtern des Niederländischen zweierlei innere Grenzen zu unterscheiden seien: Morphemgrenzen (+) und Wortgrenzen (#). Den Suffixen gehen Morphemgrenzen oder Wortgrenzen voraus, den Präfixen folgt immer eine Wortgrenze. Als Beweise für diese Hypothese werden verwendet: Wortakzent und Sprechsilben sowohl der simplexen als auch der komplexen Wörter, weiterhin Ausfall bzw. Einschub des Schwa-Lautes in komplexen Wörtern.

In der Beweisführung kommt einer bemerkenswerten Erscheinung des Niederländischen eine entscheidende Rolle zu, daß nämlich die Suffixe des Niederländischen in zwei Gruppen geteilt werden können. Die Suffixe der ersten Gruppe tragen den Wortakzent: *Vietnám* > *Vietnamées* 'vietnamesisch'. Die Suffixe der zweiten Gruppe verhalten sich gegenüber dem Wortakzent neutral: *lépel* 'Löffel' > *Lépeltje* 'Löffelchen'. Vor den Suffixen der ersten Gruppe fällt das auslautende Schwa der Basis aus, z.B.: *periode* > *periodiseer* 'periodisieren'. In der zweiten Gruppe bleibt das Schwa selbst vor Suffixen mit Vokalanlaut erhalten, z.B.: *zijde* 'Seide' > *zijdeachtig* 'seidenartig'. Die Suffixe der beiden Gruppen verhalten sich unterschiedlich auch in bezug auf die Sprechsilben. Auf diese Weise wird bewiesen, daß vor Suffixen der ersten Gruppe eine Morphemgrenze, doch vor Suffixen der zweiten Gruppe eine Wortgrenze liegt.

Obwohl die Argumente akzeptabel sind, gibt es hier eine auffallende Tatsache, die der Autor außer acht läßt: Die Suffixe der ersten Gruppe sind ausnahmslos fremder Herkunft, während die der zweiten Gruppe germanischen Ursprungs sind. Was das für eine Rolle im Fragenkomplex haben mag, wäre vielleicht nicht uninteressant zu untersuchen. Weiterhin bedarf die Rolle des

Vokal- bzw. Konsonantenanlautes der Suffixe weiterer Erwägungen.

Der Problembereich der Suffixe ist allerdings mit den zwei obigen Gruppen noch nicht abgeschlossen. Es gibt nämlich im Niederländischen eine dritte Gruppe von Suffixen, die den Wortakzent auf die vorangehende Silbe ziehen. Z.B. *hárstocht* 'Leidenschaft' > *hartstóchtelijk* 'leidenschaftlich'. Für diese Gruppe formuliert der Autor eine besondere Regel.

Er führt den Begriff 'Grenzschwächung' (*boundary weakening*) ein — aus einer Wortgrenze wird eine Morphemgrenze —, um u. a. das Verhalten des Suffixes *-achtig* zu erklären. (Das Suffix *-achtig* hat in manchen Fällen den Wortakzent, in anderen Fällen verhält es sich wiederum akzentneutral.)

Schließlich werden vom Verfasser vier Gruppen von Suffixen unterschieden: 1. akzentneutrale Suffixe (vorausgegangen von +), z.B. *-baar*; 2. akzenttragende Suffixe (vorausgegangen von #) z.B. *-in*, *-esk*, *-ees*; 3. einige Adjektivsuffixe, die den Akzent auf die vorangehende Silbe ziehen (vorausgegangen von + oder #), z.B. *-isch*; 4. einige Suffixe (*+er*, *+ing*), die hinter die Akzentregel angeordnet werden. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören auch die Flexive. Mit Ausnahme der vierten Gruppe werden WB-Regeln vor die Wortakzentuierungsregeln angeordnet.

In bezug auf die Präfixe wird festgestellt, daß ihnen immer # folgt, und daß die Präfigierungsregeln hinter die Akzentregeln anzuordnen sind.

In den weiteren Teilen des zweiten Abschnitts wird bewiesen, daß komplexe Wörter innere Klammern enthalten. Diese inneren Klammern spielen eine entscheidende Rolle bei der zyklischen Anwendung der Wortbetonungsregeln. Eine Analyse der Vokalreduktion unterstützt die zyklische Anwendung der Akzentregeln, und damit auch die Annahme von inneren Klammern, und so die Hypothese, daß WB-regeln strukturbauende Regeln seien.

Der Verfasser sieht im ganzen zweiten Kapitel ein Argument für ein wichtiges Grundprinzip der generativen Grammatik,

daß man nämlich die verschiedenen Ebenen der Grammatik voneinander nicht trennen kann, da sie gegenseitig abhängig sind.

4. Der dritte Abschnitt (*Competence Restrictions on the Productivity of Word Formation Rules*, 120—156) ist speziell für den Niederlandisten am interessantesten. Hier werden die niederländischen Präfixe und Suffixe untersucht, in der Hinsicht, welche Bedingungen ihre Produktivität beschränken. Der Verfasser betont, daß eine rein quantitative Analyse der Produktivität nicht erfolgreich sein kann. So erschienen nämlich Suffixe, die ein Verb als Grundwort brauchen, produktiver als Suffixe, die ein Adjektiv benötigen, — einfach, weil es in einer Sprache mehr Verben gibt als Adjektive.

Der Hauptzweck des dritten Abschnitts ist zu beweisen, daß die Produktivität der WB-Regeln 1. von der phonologischen Form des Grundwortes, 2. von morphologischen Merkmalen des Grundwortes, 3. von syntaktischen Verhältnissen des Grundwortes abhängt.

Der Verfasser hat nicht die Absicht, die WB-Regeln erschöpfend zu behandeln, er versucht nur an Hand einiger typischen Beispiele zu zeigen, daß die Produktivität der WB-Regeln von verschiedenen Kompetenzfaktoren eingeschränkt wird.

Bei den Bedingungen der phonologischen Form der Basis werden zwei Arten unterschieden: diejenigen, die sich nur auf ein Suffix, und diejenigen, die sich im allgemeinen auf die phonologische Struktur der komplexen Wörter des Niederländischen beziehen.

Die Bedingungen hinsichtlich der morphologischen Eigenschaften der Basis sind vielerlei: das Vorhandensein gewisser Morpheme, gewisse Merkmale der Basis u. dgl. Substantive mit dem Suffix *-or* (z.B. *agressor*) können z.B. nur aus einem Grundwort auf *-ie* (*agressie*) abgeleitet werden, das dazu noch lateinischen Ursprungs, also nicht endbetont ist. (Die endbetonten Substantive auf *-ie* sind griechischen Ursprungs, z.B. *poëzie*.) Weitere wichtige Be-

dingungen sind, ob die Basis ein simplex oder ein komplexes Wort ist, ob die inneren Grenzen einer komplexen Basis Morphemgrenzen oder Wortgrenzen sind. Manche Gesetzmäßigkeiten können festgestellt werden auf Grund dessen, ob die benachbarten Morpheme heimischen oder fremden Ursprungs sind.

In der Beweisführung hält es der Verfasser für notwendig, den theoretischen Unterschied zwischen der Ausnahme von einer Regel und dem Gegenbeispiel für die Gültigkeit einer Regel zu formulieren (S. 137). Als syntaktische Bedingung der Basis wird der bestimmende Charakter der syntaktischen Kategorie (Wortart) der Basis behandelt. Der Verfasser stellt fest, daß die Reihenfolge der Präfigierung und der Suffigierung z. T. von der syntaktischen Kategorie der Basis abhängt.

Abschließend werden noch die WB-Regeln angeordnet, und die zyklische Anwendung der Regeln wird betont.

5. Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, daß der Verfasser die Ergebnisse der bisherigen Untersuchungen kritisch behandelt, sie weiterentwickelt und demzufolge zu selbständigen Schlußfolgerungen gelangt. Es ist nicht die Absicht des Autors, allgemeinsprachlich gültige Regeln (»Prinzipien«) zu formulieren; er will die Regelmäßigkeiten des Niederländischen erforschen. Deswegen untersucht er immer, ob die für das Deutsche, Englische, Dänische usw. festgestellten Regeln auch für das Niederländische gelten (S. 147).

Das Werk von Booij ist interessant auch für Linguisten, die sich nicht auf das Niederländische spezialisieren, weil es den Leser durch seine Problematik zum weiteren Überlegen anregt, mag man mit dem Autor einverstanden sein oder nicht. Der Umstand, daß die Studie in englischer Sprache erschien, zeigt auch, daß sie für ein weiteres Publikum gedacht ist. Anmerkungen (S. 157—168), Bibliographie und Sachregister ergänzen die Arbeit.

Erzsébet Mollay

Lotz János: Szonettkoszorú a nyelvről [Sonetti a corona on language]
Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest 1976, 387 p.

Preceded only by a few articles in periodicals, lectures held at congresses and a thin booklet containing two papers, this is the first collected edition to appear in Hungarian of the works of John Lotz, who was born of Hungarian parents in the United States and spent most of his life in the United States. The publishers have filled an old gap by helping the present volume reach the public.

Lotz's studies have been grouped around six thematic circles here. Exemplary both thematically and in its proportions, György Szépe's selection — in collaboration with the author — represents Lotz's wide range of interest, the crucial points of his œuvre as well as the characteristic features of his scientific conceptions. The volume, moreover, offers an implicit answer to the implicit question why Lotz's scientific activity had no influence on Hungarian linguistics in Hungary: because Lotz worked within the framework of "post-Saussurian" linguistics, which only had indirect contacts with the linguistic scene in Hungary and arrived there after a delay of several decades — a fault surely to be blamed on Hungarian descriptive linguistics, but the credit goes to Lotz for having gone so far ahead.

The first section of the book is devoted to linguistic theory, the second contains the best of Lotz's writings on Hungarian phonology, and the third one deals with aspects of Hungarian grammar. The papers on grammatics and on poetic theory in the next section give evidence of Lotz's wide sphere of interest — something that calls for special attention nowadays. The last section takes us to the problems of individual languages, and also to the field of historical linguistics. In his detailed and knowledgeable postscript, György Szépe outlines Lotz's biography, his activities both as scholar and organizer, and even offers occasional insights into the author's engaging

personality. The volume is concluded by a select bibliography and ample notes to the papers.

In this review I will discuss Lotz's grammatical conceptions from the point of view of Hungarian descriptive linguistics in Hungary. This qualification is necessary because the most important question about John Lotz is, as we have mentioned, why his activity ran parallel, without ever meeting, with Hungarian descriptive linguistics — in spite of the fact that it was always Hungarian descriptive grammar which was in the centre of his work, together with general linguistics, Finno-Ugric studies, and poetic theory.

Lotz's first work on the Hungarian language was published in 1939 in Stockholm (*Das ungarische Sprachsystem*). If not in depth and exhaustiveness, at least in its systematicity and consistence of principles, this grammar can be said to have surpassed even all of the subsequent ones. It may be regarded as a transition between certain grammars called "traditional" in Hungary, compiled in terms of textbook-grammars, and grammars based on more up-to-date principles which, though already elaborated in many respects, are yet to be completed. This "Stockholm Grammar" shows obvious traces of the influence of Zoltán Gombocz, who was Lotz's professor during his university studies in Hungary and the first to spread Saussure's linguistic revolution in Hungary — and to whose memory with belated respect, Lotz dedicated the book under review, his first one to appear in Hungary.

Neither in his choice of topics, nor in his views on language was Lotz a traditional linguist in the sense as applied to linguists in Hungary. His principles were largely determined by "post-Saussurian" linguistic schools, although he did not espouse any of them in their pure or extreme forms. Committing himself as he did to none of them, he did publish some studies undoubtedly in their lines; what he wrote, for example, on the phonetic structure of the Dungan dialect of Chinese could be a typical exam-

ple for a study in the fashion of the Prague school; he was also proud of having compiled the first glossematic analysis, or the first generative description of the Hungarian -é morpheme ("possessional suffix"). He was sensitive enough to react to possible philosophical misinterpretations of new linguistic trends: he acknowledged the epistemological autonomy of the subparts of grammar, but attributed no ontological distinction to the phenomena described therein (cf. 6). His critical remarks were always those of an expert and receptive researcher. In handling his material he made extensive use of mathematical and logical tools, and he had a special sense of combining the scientific (biological and physical) and the strictly linguistic aspects of the phenomena of language. He was familiar with, worked on and communicated that segment of linguistic knowledge which is commonly called "general linguistics" in Hungary. In his œuvre, however, he never distinguished between "general" and "specific" linguistics; Lotz united these two and accorded them to the international standards of linguistic science. He knew several languages and did research on many more. He was also interested in "non-linguistic" systems of signs, and even had an overall view of a wider field, which in the American division of sciences has received the name cultural anthropology. His high sensitivity to linguistic form is shining through most of his studies and, — especially after the "Stockholm Grammar" — he made successful attempts at describing the oppositional relations between linguistic elements. By and large, these features make him out to be a non-descriptivist structural linguist within "post-Saussurian" linguistics, as Szépe remarks in his editorial postscript.

This "negative classification" must itself be taken in a relative sense of course. If it means that Lotz refused to consider the principles of descriptivism as unique in providing an exhaustive explanation for language (or even for linguistic form) on the one hand, it certainly does not imply

on the other that Lotz rejected, or considered it false, to express the order of linguistic units in term of their distribution (cf. 20–21, 44–47). He used this term himself (e.g. 20, 46, 130), but did not apply descriptive principles when he arrived at establishing the distribution of elements.

As it is reflected in the grammatical and phonological studies of the volume, Lotz's chief interest was the description of phonemes and morphemes. Here he creatively applied the basic ideas of the Prague school and glossematics. He investigated the internal correlations of phonemes and other linguistic symbols, i.e. the *structure* manifested in the system, and he expressed this structure in *oppositions*. While Lotz refused to ascribe to them an exclusively binary character, he was even more determined to reject the traditional way of considering the elements as logically primary to the system (see 104, 152, 164).

We shall now describe the method he followed in a large number of his studies. After making an estimate of the set of elements in the subsystem of the language in question, he designed mathematically the theoretical possibilities of the structuring of the elements — including the structures with the highest and the lowest number of oppositions. Following this he chose the one that he considered to be the most in accordance with the nature of the particular subsystem. He then gave, chiefly geometrical, examples for this structure and qualified its relations in terms of markedness, following the method of the Prague school. How much he favoured this method can be seen from the fact that eight of the phonological and grammatical studies of this volume were written, mostly or predominantly, in line with this method.¹

¹ The structure of human speech (33–50), Numerical properties of linguistic structures (52–57), On the Hungarian vowel system (71–77), The categories of person, number, relation and definiteness of the object in Hungarian (127–135), The semantic analysis of the nominal bases in Hungarian (135–150), Topological models for the semantic and formal analysis

with another two showing elements of it.²

This typical methodology came from two principles that Lotz consistently held throughout his life. The first can be summed up in the statement that *a linguistic sign is the unity of form and meaning*. Why do we lay stress, one may object, on a thesis almost unanimously accepted by linguists for several decades? What makes it still important is the fact that, like a number of other linguists of the structuralist school, Lotz drew the necessary conclusions from it. He insisted on the parallel description of form and meaning, starting off from one at a time though: usually from form. On the level of grammar he excluded all semantic references formally not manifested and, similarly, disregarded all the formal references that correspond to no socially valid meanings. As a good many other structuralists, he also considered this as getting ahead of traditional linguistics: though omitting from grammatical description some formal and semantic references that undoubtedly exist, it opened the way for a systematic analysis of both meaning and form.

Consequently, it was not by chance that he took for his other basic thesis the principle of *system*: linguistic signs, interpreted as the unity of meaning and form, constitute a system, and this system is different from, and more than, a mere congregate of elements. In other words, the system is logically prior to its elements. It follows then that anything essential can be deduced from the elements only if their relation to the other elements of the system are taken into account. Lotz knew that these principles concerning the sign and the system cannot be accepted partially,

"to a certain extent" or "in a certain sense" — a loose interpretation would render impossible the systematic description of signs; on the other hand, one may take either the element or the system as dominating the other — without any third choice. As we have said, by all this Lotz did not mean to deny the existence of formal and semantic references thus left out of grammatical description. On the contrary, he assumed that it was exactly on the strength of this methodical separation of systematic features that variations could be examined with sufficient precision; in this field, according to Lotz, several results of the traditional approach could also be utilized (see 41–42, 152).

Lotz applied the method sketched above to the description of the elements of language; he followed a different course and used other terms when examining the "syntagmatic axis", i.e. the order relations of constructed units. I have used quotation marks, because he did not deal with the syntagmatic axis proper in his studies written after his "Stockholm grammar", but only touched upon its counterpart on a lower level of language; on morphophonology. In these papers Lotz made use of the linguistic terms applied to phonemes and morphemes (except for "opposition" and "structure" as they cannot be used in morphophonology) and of the concept of *distribution*, in describing the relative position of phonemes within a morpheme. He also set up *rules* to describe the succession of morphemes and the influence of their phonetic forms one on another. Besides, he also mentioned the *generation* of forms with the help of rules (312). Although he applied a formal method (in so far as terms are used unambiguously and always in the same sense), this time Lotz hardly ever used formulas and did not resort to demonstrative aids, either. His rules are precisely and succinctly formulated verbally; theoretically they could be inserted into any grammar not directly opposed to Lotz's phonological and morphological description and describing the morphophonological level with the help of

of the nominal bases in Hungarian (150–167), The Turkish vowel system (273–283), The structure of the Swedish nominal paradigm (283–292).

² "Chemical valences" of the Russian vowel phonemes (292–296), The phonological structure of the Dungan dialect of Chinese (296–309).

rules. Four studies belong to this group: two of them discuss the field of morpheme structure rules to use a modern term,³ and two examine the phonetic junctures of certain morphemes in Hungarian and in English, respectively.⁴

Although phonology, morphology and morphophonology are important subsystems of linguistic description, they are by no means all-exhaustive in this field — which Lotz was well aware of, of course. In the first study of this volume, he dwells long on the necessity of describing *sentence structures* in an exhaustive description of language (20—21). The items of the bibliography show, however, that since his “Stockholm Grammar”, which contained a long chapter on syntax, he published nothing in this field — except for a single study which might be considered as such. (And even in this study one can find but references to syntax, viz. in the derivation of the Hungarian *-é* morpheme by syntactic means, see 185—191.) One may wonder whether this implies that Lotz’s views had not changed since his “Stockholm Grammar”; but this can hardly be the case. He was extremely responsive to new trends in linguistics, which rapidly succeeded one another and led to new discoveries exactly in syntax in the three decades between 1939 and Lotz’s death. In the above-mentioned first study of this volume, syntactic relations are explained distributionally, and the illustration is an immediate constituent structure where the irregularity is not so much in the curved lines as, twice, in the manner of connection. (It was not accidental either that Lotz gave a demonstrative example where the sentence contained discontinuous constituents — in 1957, when descriptivism was still in its hey-day in the United States.) Did his neglect of syntax mean that he rejected all the new ways of

approach? This is contradicted not only by his paper from 1957, which was discussed above, but also by the fact that his only work containing syntactic references, from 1967, is built upon an important principle of generative grammar. But Lotz did not entirely accept generative syntax, either; one proof of it is, among others, the fact that in his study of the “possessional suffix” he applied only the principles, and not the techniques, of generative grammar.

Naturally John Lotz remains an outstanding personality of Hungarian linguistics even though we only have fragments of his grammatical conceptions instead of an overall picture. The question about his attitude to syntactic problems has been asked because we wish to delineate, on the basis of the studies of the volume, what his new Hungarian grammar, the plans of which he so often referred to, would have looked like if it had been accomplished.

In all probability, this unwritten new grammar would have contained a number of new concepts and new methods, as compared to the “Stockholm Grammar”. As can be seen from many details contained in his papers, Lotz held to the thesis according to which grammar handles language as a system of signs, and therefore all consideration of formally unexpressed meanings and socially meaningless forms is excluded. This thesis, however, would have taken a more subtle form. Lotz would certainly have compiled a long chapter on phonetics and phonology — as he had done in 1939 (114) — but not external to grammar “proper”, like he did at that time; he would have included it in the description of the system, for a phoneme, even if indirectly, does have something to do with meaning — viz. by the function of distinctive features. Also, Lotz would have interpreted formally expressed meaning in a different and more complex way; at least, he would have expressed the meaning of the *-é* morpheme generally with one structure: that of the root of the nominal syntagm expressing possession. As we know from a study, he would no longer have considered the word,

³ Vowel harmony in Hungarian (77—87), Some problems of the Hungarian consonants (96—108).

⁴ The imperative in Hungarian (170—179), Productive morphophonemics in English inflection (309—317).

but the morpheme, as a central notion of grammar, besides the sentence (20–21). In his “Stockholm Grammar” he had expressed the systematic nature of signs in a relatively elementary manner: by classification and the, possibly complete, enumeration of the members of the classes. Later he found a more developed method and theoretical concepts for representing the same: he symbolized the relations between the subsystems of morphemes by structures of oppositions and expressed the systematic features of the formal effects of morphemes one on another with *rules*.

The development of his views on phonology, morphology and morphophonology is clear enough; the case is different with syntax. We cannot tell whether he would have kept the division into “syntax” and “the study of sentences” of the description of sentence structure, probably taken over from Gombocz and Ries in 1939. In his papers under review he makes no mention of this interesting duality, which has not been taken up by any of the great schools of structuralism except for some of the Prague or Soviet linguists. In the description of word structure he would probably have kept the categorization in terms of parts of speech (as descriptivists and generativists alike have done); this is shown by his use of the term “nominal syntagm” in his study of the *-é* morpheme (186). In the same paper the term “immediate constituent” occurs more than once; although it comes from descriptive linguistics, Lotz used it side by side with the concept of derivation — and the two together definitely point towards generative grammar.

In 1939 the functional terms *subject* and *predicate* occurred only on the level of the sentence, and even then they stood for the whole subject group and predicate group, respectively, and not for their heads. Beyond this, there is nothing to show his attraction towards the traditional classification of sentence elements (whose concepts also Gombocz rejected, see MNY. XXV. 1). But perhaps we can say that Lotz would have been ready to use tree diagrams in the

illustration of sentence structure (cf. 21. and 189). Finally, there is no way of telling, even if this might very well be the most important point in issue, to what extent and for what ends he would have used, in the study of sentences (in syntax) the concept of *distribution*; whether he would have introduced *syntactic rules*; and how great a role would have played, in his methodology, what we call *structural derivation*.

Because of his untimely death John Lotz never completed this grammar. However, his œuvre abounds in results definitely calling for an evaluation — which is all the more important as his works on the Hungarian language have not received proper attention among Hungarian linguists up to the most recent times. It would now be anachronistic to write belated reviews of his “Stockholm Grammar”. But a comprehensive and detailed analysis of his views would by all means come timely even now. His later studies, most of which are also published in the volume under review, have already met more comments, not void of sympathy. This is partly due to the fact that from the middle of the sixties he spent a couple of years in Hungary, published in Hungarian periodicals and held several lectures as Visiting Professor. However, the attention of linguists in Hungary was drawn more to the concrete grammatical achievements than to what is inseparable from them; his typical method, which alternates between and amalgamates the principles of Prague and glossematic, descriptivist and generative schools.

In international science those are regarded as prominent figures who radically change the paradigm of their field. Within one nation one can also be counted as a creative scholar if he brings about a kind of synthesis in his discipline, creates a school or introduces it in his country, or, with his own personal influence determines the trend and the development of scientific activity. Now John Lotz spent most of his creative years in a country where, perhaps more than anywhere else the world over, linguistic science was determined by two

typical paradigms: first by descriptive, later by generative linguistics. Within this framework what Lotz could do was mostly to loosen the strictness of these paradigms and widen the horizon of topics.

That the synthesis he brought about — for Lotz's 1939 Hungarian grammar was by all means a synthesis — has not met with significant criticism, proper appreciation and any publicity worthy of mention in Hungary up to this day is a result of its place and language (German) of publication, as well as of its author's views, which radically differed from those then predominant in Hungary, of the Hungaro-centrism of Hungarian linguistic science at the time, and of unfortunate historical circumstances. This early work of Lotz, however, is up-to-date and complete enough to have created a school in more favourable circumstances, especially if enhanced by his suggestive personality and his susceptibility to new ideas.

His roots kept Lotz from entirely lining up with one or the other trend dominating linguistics in the United States; while his circumstances and grammatical conceptions blocked his influence on linguistic science in Hungary for a long time. After reading his selected works, however, one must inevitably come to the conclusion that in the Hungarian descriptive linguistics of the last thirty odd years it was John Lotz who united the progressive elements of various theories in his *œuvre* and thus, even though unfinished, his activity can be regarded as of central importance in this field.

Katalin Radics

Herbert H. Clark and Eve V. Clark: Psychology and language: An introduction to psycholinguistics. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, New York 1977. XVI + 608 p.

Contemporary American psycholinguistics has already had several changes of perspective during its short history. As a reaction to the behavioristic paradigm

which formed the first paradigm of modern psycholinguistics in the fifties, a mentalistic conception of psycholinguistics was formed in the sixties. The latter, mainly under the influence of generative grammar, outlined an "abstract program" for psycholinguistics, where the ideal purpose of the discipline was to prove the "psychological reality" of grammar (competence) independently, if possible, from actual performance and social interaction.

The book reviewed here is the first serious attempt to condense the characteristics and results of a third framework for psycholinguistics into a comprehensive textbook. The two distinguished Stanford psycholinguists represent a more process- and psychology centered approach in contrast to the former grammar- and linguistics-centered ones, without, however, losing the linguistic sophistication achieved during the previous phasis.

The very structure of the book reflects this emphasis on process: the immense material reviewed and the theoretical models are organized around the two most general types of linguistic performance: comprehension and production, supplemented by two additional main sections on language acquisition on the one hand, and meaning and thought on the other. The organization of the main parts as well as that of each individual chapter is rather didactic; a general conceptual and procedural framework is outlined first, introducing the basic linguistic and logical concepts connected with the research domain, then the detailed empirical material fills up the general scheme, or points out the gaps between the requirements of our theory and factual knowledge.

The attentive reader will find many new features even in the introductory chapter. A characteristic symptom of the emphasis on semantic and pragmatic factors rather than syntax alone is the need felt by the authors to introduce logical and philosophical concepts and theories (e.g. proposition, speech act etc.) at the very beginning of their book, besides the

already traditional linguistic concepts (phrase structures, grammatical rules etc.).

This broader horizon has many positive consequences in the chapters dealing with *c o m p r e h e n s i o n*. According to the authors' quite acceptable position, comprehension in the narrow sense ("the construction process") means an assignment of constituent structure to the input followed by the identification of the grammatical functions of the constituents, and terminating in the underlying propositions. The new approach of the authors to the "construction process" is manifest in the fact that they are not satisfied by simply enumerating the arguments for the role of sentence structure in comprehension (click dislocation memory chunking, etc.). Rather, they raise the "procedural" question very clearly: what sort of cues are used by the listener to assign structure to the sentence. After presenting the two rival hypotheses, the syntactic model relying on word order, function words and the like, and the semantic one, relying on contextual effects, plausibility, conversational postulates and so on, the authors suggest a multicomponent, context-dependent view of the construction process. The reviewer has only one misgiving here: the model outlined suggests a too easy solution, an almost automatic connection between constituent structure — once it is recovered — and propositional representation.

In the chapter dealing with the *u t i l i z a t i o n* of sentences, i.e. comprehension in the broad sense, a really comprehensive account is given about the psycholinguistic research on question answering and sentence verification. For the linguist reader, the most instructive part of the chapter is the authors' own model about the role of thematic structure ("the given-new contract") in sentence interpretation and verification. The model and the data suggests a possibility to use experimental methods for decision in the disagreements concerning the "correct" thematic structure analysis of sentences.

A very detailed chapter deals with *m e m o r y f o r p r o s e*. After summarizing the now classic experimental arguments for a "substance" representation of sentences in memory, the authors survey several new studies, partly their own, on the inferential and connecting processes during understanding, which influence the memory representation for connected sentences. When they analyze memory for longer discourse, they favour the different attempts to use "story grammars" to predict recall patterns. Their generally very sharp, critical attitude seems to be weaker here; no discussion is offered about the debates over the temporal locus of schematization effects (during understanding, storage or recall), neither about the relative strengths and weaknesses of the different "independent" characterizations of text structure for the prediction of memory performance.

The most noteworthy aspect of the chapter dealing with *s p e e c h p e r c e p t i o n* proper is the weight given to a usually neglected area in psycholinguistic texts — to the perception of continuous speech. After a balanced discussion of the basic concepts from speech organ anatomy to phonology, and the facts and theories about the categorical perception of isolated speech sounds, a discussion of contextual influences, phonemic restoration and similar phenomena follows.

The whole picture arising from this chapter is an active, multilevel model of speech perception where the identification of distinctive features and phonemes is only an impetus for the active construction of a "phonetic representation".

S p e e c h p r o d u c t i o n, the most obvious form of linguistic performance, has long been a neglected area of psycholinguistics, mainly due to the "abstract" attitude mentioned above. This book presents a good argument for the case that despite the enormous difficulties it is already possible to form reasonable and testable hypotheses about many subparts of this process. One of the sources for the

authors' claims is the work of ethno-methodologists and sociolinguists about the organization of dialogues and monologues (turn taking rules, openings and closings, adjacency pairs, frames in organizing monologues etc.). This research — excellently reviewed here — has not yet presented a picture about the actual decision processes used by the speakers. It does show, however, that in any reasonable model of production, decisions involving the requirements of the partner, the topic, the interpersonal goal have to be included, thus widening the limited horizon of "traditional" psycholinguistics.

The other source of the authors' optimism is from experimental studies where subjects have to "simply describe" systematically varied stimulus arrays. This research already indicates some of the factors influencing decisions about sentence plans (clause order, word order) and constituent plans (definiteness, use of adjectives etc.). For the linguist, they may prove to be fruitful tests concerning his pragmatic hypotheses based on intuition alone.

Based on these data, the Clarks present a picture of speech planning similar to problem solving, where real time hierarchical decisions are made continuously concerning discourse plans, sentence plans, constituent plans and the articulatory program. Although we do not know too much yet about the "actual psychology" of these decisions, more and more is known about the requirements the psychological models have to meet. A rich source of information for realistic decision models may come from the analysis of hesitations and mistakes during production; as the survey of these phenomena clearly shows it.

The most positive aspect of the three chapters dealing with language acquisition is the emphasis on the manner of development and on the relations between general cognitive development and language development. The first chapter about the beginnings of language supports a cognitivist approach,

and reviews the research outlining an "early grammar" arising from general sensory-motor development. A most welcome feature of this chapter is the detailed analysis of the structural and functional characteristics of the speech towards children helping the child to uncover the structure of the language to be learned. This analysis shows most clearly that the dogmatic opposition between simplified behavioristic and nativistic theories loses its relevance if we really take the effort to analyze the verbal environment of the child.

In the chapter dealing with later development (2 to 6 years), the vast empirical material (including European research) about formal linguistic development is interpreted in a balanced perspective: cognitive complexity of the forms and their linguistic complexity proper both have their share in determining the appearance of different forms, and a special emphasis is put on the operative principles of acquisition (Slobin). Less data and more speculations characterize the outline of the development of language functions. In their enthusiasm for speech act theory where the data concerning acquisition are still scarce — the authors seem to forget about an other "functional" tradition in child language research, represented e.g. by the work of Luria, Flavell and the Kendlers which studies the ways language becomes an inner regulator of behaviour and learning.

Although problems of meaning form an organic part of the previous chapters in connection with e.g. comprehension or the nature of early utterances, a separate part of 150 pages deals specifically with meaning and thought. The main interest of these chapters is the attempt to apply some of the most up-to-date theories in linguistic semantics to the psychology of language. This same attempt gives the limitation of the chapters: the more "traditional" approaches to the psychology of word meaning (semantic differential, imagery and the like) are almost fully neglect-

ed. One can very well sympathize with the authors in this respect; the favorite approach of psychologists towards word meaning, however, had a very reasonable core, which cannot be neglected — they studied the consequences of the fact that words have meanings.

In presenting the different approaches to meaning, componential analysis, quantifications (mainly based on word sorting experiments) and procedural semantics, the authors support the procedural approach, without really convincing psychological arguments in its favor. In the detailed chapters, semantics of comprehension, prototypes, association phenomena, overextension in child language, acquisition of spatial and temporal terms are all interpreted in this terminology (or rather metaphor).

In the last chapter, presenting a vast empirical material from color terms through kinship to word order universals, the authors subscribe for a cognitive-perceptual universalistic thesis against linguistic relativity in the debate concerning the relations between language and thought. The data really seem to support the hypothesis that despite the enormous superficial differences, the organization of some semantic fields at least is universal due to the universality of certain human experiences, and that some (implicative) structural universals are due to processing constraints of human language understanding.

The book under review successfully makes its cause; it would be hard to imagine a more informative and complete presentation of the "process" approach to psycholinguistics. If the models proposed in connection with some specific questions give a feeling of uncertainty,

especially in case of semantics, this is not a specific handicap of this book. It is merely the reflection of some general problems of model construction in contemporary cognitive psychology, where one is frequently inclined to think that the data could support several different models apart from the presented one. However, and this is a great achievement, the perspectives of the book go much beyond cognitive psychology proper: in dealing with "pragmatic" questions the authors very clearly stand for a rapprochement between cognitive modeling and interpersonal analysis throughout the investigation of the functions of language.

Thus, the book has its own merits as a synthesis, as a source of inspiration for further research and argument. At the same time it is an excellent textbook. The well proportioned organization of facts and theory, the witty style, the outstanding typography, the frequent use of cartoons and puns all contribute to feeling refreshed while reading the book, especially if compared to earlier psycholinguistic textbooks or monographs. One can sense that now that the death battle of behaviorism and mentalistic linguistics is over, time has come for more tolerant, more liberated and more readable writing in psycholinguistics. An additional remarkable feature of the book is the frequent reliance on research on and in other languages than English (including Hungarian) — a rare feature of former American texts.

A comprehensive bibliography, two indexes, a witty glossary and a "further reading" list at the end of each chapter also enhance the usefulness of this outstanding book.

Cs. Pléh

Lajos Kiss: Szláv tükörszók és tükörjelentések a magyarban. Славянские лексические и семантические кальки в венгерском языке. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1976, 231 стр.

Имя Л. Кишша, исследователя проблем венгерско-славянских языковых контактов широко известно. Особенно значителен его вклад в решение сложных проблем теории этимологизирования, в изучение «предыстории»¹ многих лексических заимствований и проникновений² венгерского языка, восходящих к славянским генетическим или историческим источникам заимствования.³ Убедительным доказательством этого является и новая? замечательная монография Л. Кишша — плод многолетних изысканий автора.

В языкознании до сих пор не преодолено полностью заблуждение младограмматиков и их последователей, объяснявших развитие языка принципами линейной каузальности. Сводить истоки языковых изменений к механистической причинности, Сводить истоки языковых изменений к механистической причинности, значит пренебрегать теорией отражения, не видеть, что язык является сложной системой, и в его развитии действуют принципы языковой целесообразности.⁴

Развитие венгерского языка обеспечивается сложным механизмом взаимодействия ряда внутрилингвистических и внеязыковых факторов.

¹ Об этимологии как «предыстории» слова см.: В. Н. Топоров, О некоторых теоретических основаниях этимологического анализа. In: Вопросы языкознания [1960] № 3.

² О разнице между лексическим заимствованием и проникновением см.: А. М. Рот, Венгерско-восточнославянские языковые контакты. Будапешт 1973, 24—25.

³ О разнице между генетическим историческим источниками заимствования см.: Там же, 152—154 а также: A. Grauer, Etimologie multipla. In: Studii de lingvistica generala. Bucureşti 1960.

⁴ Эти принципы были впервые сформулированы Пражской лингвистической школой.

Среди внеязыковых факторов, оказывающих влияние на действие других факторов развития венгерского языка, в том числе и внутрилингвистических, и тем самым на действие принципов языковой целесообразности, большая роль принадлежит языковым контактам. В настоящее время изыскания в области языковых контактов (межъязыковых отношений, взаимодействия языков) привлекают к себе внимание все большего количества исследователей, становясь одной из центральных задач лингвистики.

Теория языковых контактов была за последние десятилетия обогащена рядом интересных исследований. И тем не менее, в лингвистической литературе, посвященной вопросам взаимодействия языков, до сих пор сосуществуют не только противоречивые, но и иногда диаметрально противоположные суждения о том, какие явления следует включить в понятие «языковые контакты», каковы типы межъязыковых отношений и какова динамика их лингвистической интерференции.

Разумеется, мы даем себе ясный отчет и наши изыскания в области языковых контактов подтвердили,⁵ что нет и не может быть пока универсальной классификации типов языковых контактов, как и нельзя пока что с уверенностью предсказать динамику лингвистической интерференции у того или иного типа языковых контактов, или на основе результатов языкового взаимодействия построить абсолютизированную ретроспекцию и решить, к какому типу межъязыковых отношений они восходят. Уж слишком многообразны соотношения факторов развития языка и роль лингвистической интерференции в нем, с одной стороны, структурные особенности контактирующих языков систем различного статуса, с другой.

Конкретное, глубоко научное исследование самих явлений лингвистической интерференции — ключ к решению этих задач. Большинство исследователей языко-

⁵ См. А. М. Рот, Особенности взаимодействия языков и диалектов Карпатского ареала. Ужгород 1973.

вых контактов, к сожалению, игнорируя углубленные «полевые изыскания», сделало ряд поспешных выводов по самим существенным вопросам взаимодействия языков. Стали поговаривать о том, что эта молодая область лингвистики, успев сделать лишь первые шаги, зашла в тупик. Выход из тупика, в котором оказалась теория языковых контактов, лежит, несомненно, в исследовании конкретных явлений взаимодействия различных языков и диалектов. Много в этом отношении делается в последнее время не только в многонациональных странах, как СССР и США, но и в Венгрии, где, в частности, изыскания области венгерско — славянских межъязыковых отношений имеют свои вековые традиции.

Первые наблюдения славянскими элементами венгерского языка сделали еще в XIII в. О. П. Юлиан (O. P. Julianus), Риккард (Riccardus), Пано Карпини (Pano Carpini), Бенедиктус Полонус (Benedictus Polonus) и Рубрук (Rubricus, совершавшие с целью «открытия Востока» путешествия к Волге. Затем в течение ряда столетий в работах многих авторов и, в особенности, Матвея Мехова (Mathias Miechow) Ф. Врнчича (F. Vrančić) Лаурентиуса Топпелтинуса де Медьеш (Laurentius Toppeltinus de Medgyes), Фориша Ференца Отрокочи (Otrokocsi Foris Ferene), Й. Г. Эртля (J. G. Oertel) и др. получили отражение усилия ученых ответить на вопрос, «как и когда попали в венгерский язык славянские элементы». Разумеется, мы имеем здесь дело с донаучным этимологизированием, во многом схожим с народной этимологизацией. Эти авторы считали, что все славянизмы венгерского языка восходят к тому славянскому языку, которым они в той или иной мере владели.

На фоне этих дилетантских упражнений в этимологизировании значительным достижением были изыскания И. Шандора (Sándor I.), Ш. Дьярмати (Gyarmathi S.), Й. Кашшай (Kassai J.), С. Лешки (Leschka S.), Ю. Рибая (J. Ribay), Г. Данковского (G. Dankovsky), посвященные изучению славянизмов в венгерском языке, хотя и эти работы были не на одинаковом уровне.

Выделялись в положительном отношении работы С. Лешки, но многие его выводы о славянизмах венгерского языка все же не выдержали испытания временем.

Большинство указанных исследователей не могло определить, из какого именно славянского языка венгерский язык и заимствовал славянизмы. Интерес к этим работам проявлял и патриарх славистики Й. Добровский (J. Dobrovský) выдвинувший ряд интересных предположений об генетических и исторических источниках заимствования древнейших славянизмов венгерского языка.

Первое подлинно научное этимологизирование славянизмов венгерского языка связано с именем Ф. Миклошича (F. Miklovich). Однако ошибочность исходных позиций знаменитого ученого пагубно сказалась на результатах этого этимологизирования. Ему так и не удалось расчленить славянизмы венгерского языка по историческим источникам их заимствования. Не удалось это и многим последователям и противникам Ф. Миклошича.

Новый этап в изучении исторических истоков славянизмов в венгерском языке знаменовали собой изыскания Я. Мелиха (Melich J.), О. Ашбота (Asboth O.), И. Книежи (Kniezsa I.), Г. Барци (Bárczi G.), Л. Хадровича (Hadrovics L.), Л. Фишша (Kiss L.), П. Кирая (Király P.), Л. Дэже (Dezső L.), Й. Эрдеди (Erdödi J.), Л. Аранья (Arany L.), Ф. Грегора (Gregor F.) Э. Балецкого (Balczsky E.), Ф. Шимы (Šma F.), Ш. Моканья (Mokány S.) И. Ковтюка (Kótyuk I.) и др., в этимологических работах которых нашли широкое применение лингвогеографическая интерпретация изоглосс диалектологического материала, способствовавшее тому, что у многих славянизмов венгерского языка с большой относительной надежностью было определено, из какого именно славянского языка они заимствованы.

Однако, изучая лингвистическую интерференцию многовековых венгерско-славянских языковых контактов, большинство исследователей ограничивалось исследованием прямых (фонетических) лексических

заимствований и проникновений из славянских языков, функционирующих в венгерском. Мало внимания уделялось до сих пор дискретным процессам калькирования по виду лингвистической интерференции, как лексическом уровне контактирующих венгерского и славянских языков. Их венуже в работах С. Лешки, О. АшПравда, Мелиха, Э. Моора, Ф. Грезора, Й. бота, Я. Я. Кошша и др. немало интересны Эрдеди, дений, замечаний о том, что те х наблюлексические единицы венгерскили иные скалькированы со славянского ого языка. Но лингвисты мало еще сделпрототипа. развить эти идеи, познать язизали, чтобыгерских слов, которые явзлизитнь тех вентурно-семантическими; б) сеюся: а) струкв) гибридными калькамикмантическими; языков.

Ну вот рецензируемая монография Л. Кишша, первая серьезная попытка восполнить этот пробел, на конкретном языковом материале рассмотреть сложные проблемы венгерско-славянской лингвистической интерференции, способствовавшей образованию в венгерском языке калек со славянских прототипов. В чем пафос рассматриваемой монографии? В первую очередь, в её необычайно четких методологических позициях, огромном языковом и экстралингвистическом материале не только венгерского, финно-угорских, славянских, но и других языков евро-азиатского лингвистического ареала, который благодаря глубокому анализу автора раскрывает не одну, доселе неизвестную страницу венгерско-славянских межъязыковых отношений, обогащает ономастиологию и общую лексического калькирования.

Семиотический взгляд на язык предполагает признание в нем плана выражения и плана содержания. Среди многочисленных определений сущности языкового знака, думается, наиболее приемлемым является такое определение, которое исходит из диалектического единства его двух сторон — обозначающего и обозначаемого, материальной и идеальной. При анализе лексических единиц венгерского и славянских языков мы сталкиваемся с фактами

идентичности их «информ», их «одинаковой» мотивированностью. Мы имеем здесь дело с явлениями изоморфизма, названными С. В. Семчинским межъязыковой изосемией.⁶

Рецензируемая монография, как и наше изучение путей развития межъязыковой изосемии венгерского и славянских языков показали, что её истоки объясняются: а) действием семасиологических универсалий в процессе «независимой» лексической номинализации; б) семантической интерференцией (семантической индукцией; семантической инклинацией). Трудность разграничения этих двух истоков, с которой сталкивался Л. Кишш, связана с противоречиями, имеющимися между семантической теорией и семантическим описанием языков. Ведь прав У. Вайнрайх, указывающий, что «... между семантической теорией и семантическими описаниями существует роковая пропасть, обрекая шервую на пустоту, а вторые — на атомистичность».⁷ Мы должны, к сожалению, констатировать отсутствие фундаментальных описательных работ, которые сделали бы достойный вклад в теорию семантических универсалий. Рассматриваемый труд Л. Кишша своей весьма удачной попыткой отделения тех «маркированных» языковых «слепок действительности» венгерского языка, изосемантизм которых восходит к семантической интерференции калькирования со славянских прототипов, и является значительным вкладом в создание пердпосылок к теории семантических универсалий. Весь богатый языковой материал рецензируемой монографии, глубокий, аргументированный анализ лексических единиц как в сравнительно-историческом, так и структурно-типологическом планах со всей убедительностью показали, что явление семантической интерференции объясняется возмож-

⁶ См. С. В. Семчинский, Семантическая интерференция языков (на материале славяно-восточнороманских языковых контактов), (автореферат докторской диссертации). Фиев 1973.

⁷ У. Вейнрайх, О семантической структуре языка. (Перевод с английского.) In: Новое в лингвистике, выпуск V., Москва 1970, 165.

ностью внешнего воздействия (индукции; инклинации) на траекторию движения сем, замкнутых в «эксформе» слова (классифицирующей лексемы) в процессе их функционирования. Можно сравнивать слова венгерского и славянских языков по их денотации (в системе) и по их коннотации (в тексте) на логическом и собственно лексическом уровнях. В первом случае при сравнении опорой служат «первичные семантические (смысловые) множители». Во втором случае при сравнении обращается внимание на всю сумму возможных семантических связей, т. е. «вторичные семантические (смысловые) множители», установленных как «семантическими полями» (Й. Трир), так и деривационными связями. Эти сравнения помогают не только «реабилитировать» семантику, но и в противовес анатомистическому подходу младограмматиков и их последователей к лексическим единицам увидеть системные связи лексико-семантических микроструктур. И хотя система лексических значений как в венгерском, так и в словацком, болгарском, польском, чешском, сербохорватском, словенском, русском, украинском, и других языках с которым венгерский контактировал, представляет собой неповторимую индивидуальность, элементы «информ» многих лексических единиц этих языков в значительной мере скалькированы из общего прототипа, возникли благодаря действию семантической интерференции.

Во «Введении» (стр. 3—5) автор рецензируемой книги в весьма сжатой форме касается основных проблем лингвистической интерференции и, в особенности, вопросов калькирования.

Калькирование, затрагивающее многие лингвистические вопросы, стоит в последние годы в центре внимания исследователей, пытающихся рассмотреть его в самых различных аспектах: а) с точки зрения языковых контактов и лингвистической интерференции; б) с точки зрения словообразования и путей пополнения словарного состава заимствующего языка; в) с точки зрения техники перевода и проблем адекватности; г) с точки зрения логических

и психологических процессов лексической номинализации. Но каждый из этих аспектов взаимосвязан. И поэтому весьма незначительны результаты тех исследователей, которые, стремясь решить какой-то один аспект этой проблемы, забывают об общей лингвистической сущности калькирования, пренебрегают фактом, что все эти аспекты должны исходить из общей теории языкового взаимодействия.

Существует весьма укоренившееся мнение о том, что калькирование получило свое распространение лишь в современную эпоху интенсивных экономических, политических и культурных связей, способствующих усилению немаргинальных языковых контактов, главным образом, через перевод литературы различных жанров. Источник образования лексических калек многие исследователи видят в том, что переводчики, со времен формирования национальных языков, в своем стремлении уберечь свой родной язык от иноязычных лексических элементов, т. е. в целях «пуризма», предпочитают лексические кальки собственно-лексическим (прямым, фонетическим) заимствованиям.

Как показали наши изыскания⁸ и как убедительно говорит весьма ценный языково-исторический материал венгерского и славянских языков рассматриваемой монографии, во всей этой истории лишь доля правды. А вся история сочинена, чтобы «оправдать» причины, почему лингвисты только в наши дни обратились лицом к такой важной проблеме, как калькирование, которое, как свидетельствуют многочисленные факты рецензируемого труда Л. Кишша, напр., *hétfő* 'понедельник'; *Feszület* 'распятие'; *viselő* 'беременная (женщина)'; *képmutató* 'лицемер' *vakarc* 'поскрёбыш' и мн. др., так же древнее, как языковые контакты.

О позднем интересе к лексическому калькированию говорит хотя бы и тот факт.

⁸ См. А. М. Пот, Особенности калькирования лексических инноваций русского языка советского общества в венгерском языке. In: *Studia Slavica* 16 [1970] 237—257.

что сам термин калька (венг. *tükörszó*; англ. *translation loan-word*, *calque*; франц. *calque*; нем. *Lehnübersetzung*) и калькирование (венг. *tükörszóképzés*; англ. *translation-loan*; франц. *emprunt de traduction*; нем. *Übersetzungsentlehnung*) появилось недавно. И вплоть до последнего времени эта лингвистическая проблема находилась на задворках языкознания. Даже благородный замысел Ш. Балли (Ch. Bally) покончить с дискриминацией калькирования и на основе его изучения в европейских языках сделать выводы о европейском психологическом складе (*mentalité européenne*) осталось не осуществленным. Из-под пера его вышла лишь небольшая статья, посвященная некоторым вопросам калькирования.

Вопросам калькирования в общелингвистическом и типологическом планах уделял внимание известный славист Б. О. Унбегаун. пытавшийся отделить: а) калек народных; от б) калек книжных.

Отдельные вопросы калькирования пытались рассмотреть, к стати безуспешно, Ж. Вандриес (J. Vendryes), П. Папагаджи (P. Papahagi) И. Кампе (I. Campe), Э. Энгел (E. Engel), Ф. Маутнер (F. Mauthner), С. Зингер (S. Singer), В. Бетц (W. Betz); П. Бугат (Bugát P.), Ж. Шимоньи (Simonyi Zs.) В. Л. Щерба, Л. А. Булаховский, Л. А. Пономаренко, А. Я. Матвеев, Л. П. Ефремова, М. А. Херай; Э. Мартинс (E. Martins); Дь. Дечи (Gy. Décsy), К. Флекенштайн (K. Fleckenstein) и др.

Критически оценив всю эту и др. литературу по вопросам теории калькирования, Л. Кишш проделал кропотливую работу по изучению тех внутрилингвистических и внеязыковых, в том числе культурно-исторических, психологических и хронологических, данных, которые с максимальной и средней относительной лингвистической надежностью показывают, что свыше 150 лексических единиц венгерского языка является структурно-семантическими, семантическими или гибридными (полукальками) кальками с славянских прототипов.

Весь свой богатый материал наблюдений, тщательного анализа как лингвистического так и внеязыкового материала

автор изложил в статьях-этюдах и расположил их в алфавитном порядке (стр. 15—219).

Глубокое ознакомление с содержанием этих статей-этюдов показало, с какой требовательностью к лингвистическим и внеязыковым источникам, к своим критериям анализа подходит автор. С глубоким знанием исторического развития венгерского, других финно-угорских языков, а также славянских и др. языков он оценивает данные, критерии, показания, «свидетельствующие», что напр., венг. *asztalos* 'столяр'; *bádigos* 'жестянщик'; *bárányfelhő* 'барашки (тучи)'; *Boldogasszony* 'Богоматерь; Богородица'; *dráhakő* 'драгоценный камень'; *fazekas* 'гончарь'; *himlő* 'сып (*variola vera*)'; *járvány* 'зараза, эпидемия'; *jóképp* 'миловидный'; *kikelet* 'весна'; *szarufa* 'с тропило'; *tartomány* 'провинция, край'; *varga* 'сапожник' и др. являются структурно-семантическими кальками славянских прототипов. лельного независимого образования параллельной единицы венгерского являющейся лексической «идентичную» «информу» с контактировавшими славянскими языками (напр., *vak-szem* 'висок') или выдвигает весьма убедительные доводы в пользу многолатеральной интерференции, в которой наряду со славянским прототипом играл определенную роль и прототип немецкого языка (напр., *szarvas-gomba* 'трюфель [*Tuber*]') или латыни (напр., *szereztes* 'монах').

Наблюдения над приведенными в статьях-этюдах рецитируемой монографии славянскими про типами и их венгерскими структурно-семантическими кальками показали, что при этом типе калькирования происходит борьба между стремлением языка-рецептора как можно точнее и полнее (буквально, поморфемно) перенести структуру слова языка-источника и тенденцией как можно лучше приспособить славянский оригинал к структуре и сложившимся нормам лексической номинализации заимствующего языка (напр., венг. *virágvasárnap* < слав. *kvetná nedel'a*). Компромисс между этими тенденциями и должен обеспечить высшую верность оригиналу, адекватность передачи калькой струк-

турно-семантических характеристик. Степень близости внутренних форм кальки и прототипа нельзя поэтому решать механически без учета того факта, что перенос лексической единицы на «чужую языковую почву» должен сопровождаться приростом единиц информации (напр., венг. *szarufa* < сербохорв. *rođ* 'стропило'). Эти элементы описания вместе с другими отклонениями от буквальной, поморфемной передачи всех особенностей славянского прототипа (напр., венг. *fenyőbaja gomba* < слв. *podbórky* (Pl.). 'Lactarius deliciosus; Boletus granulatus', словенскими расхождениями в структуре контактирующих языков, снижают эффективность действия семантической интерференции.

Наиболее дискретно и эффективнее всего происходит семантическая интерференция в семантических кальках венгерского языка, образованных в результате лингвистической интерференции славянских языков. Поэтому Л. Кишш в рецензируемой монографии весьма тщательно, осторожно и с некоторыми оговорками пытается вскрыть «механизм» действия семантической интерференции славянского прототипа на «информу» искомого венгерского слова. Огромная эрудиция автора позволила ему нарисовать четкую и убедительную картину того, как значения венг. *brigád* 'производственная бригада', *kép* 'лицо, облик, образ', *ültet* 'садить ~ сажать (растение)', *hegy* 'холм, бугор, горка', *vég* 'рулон, конец (полотна)', *világ* 'мир, свет' и др. возникли благодаря семантической интерференции славянского прототипа. Детально проанализированный лингвистический и внеязыковой материал автора дает возможность заглянуть в «лабораторию» процессов семантической интерференции и увидеть, что новые значения венгерских слов возникали благодаря непосредственному «давлению» сем конфронтированного и отождествленного носителями продвинутого и неполного субординативного и координативного билингвизма⁹ слов языка-прототипа и языка-

рецептора. И это «давление» происходило тогда, когда конфронтированные и отождествленные слова находились на синтагматической оси, т. е. функционировали и семантические множители «перетрясали» иерархию сем так, что внутренняя структура слова-рецептора выдвигали на передний план еще «свободные» семантические клетки, проявляя готовность заполнить их «чужими» семами. Наши наблюдения¹⁰ показали, что семантическая интерференция протекает более эффективно при конфронтации и отождествлении билингва слов языка-прототипа и языка-рецептора, внутренняя структура которых имеет фигурную форму, т. е. возникла путем метафоризации. Менее эффективной она протекает при семантическом калькировании слов с конструктивной внутренней формой, т. е. возникшей путем деривации. Под влиянием слова-прототипа происходили в венгерском языке: стабилизация нового значения, развитие полисемии, а иногда и омонимии. Это зависело от того, насколько отдалены были новые значения семантических калек венгерского языка от стержневых значений своих же «информ». Новое значение семантической кальки обуславливалось не только семантической интерференцией славянского слова-прототипа, но и теми отношениями, которые существовали в данном семантическом поле языка-источника.

Велика заслуга автора в том, что он после тщательного анализа большого языкового материала показал те гибридные кальки (полукальки), которые возникли в венгерском языке в результате лингвистической интерференции его контактов со славянскими языками. Вопрос о гибридных кальках (полукальках) был в лингвистической литературе предметом горячих обсуждений. В целом, очевидно, правы те исследователи, которые, как, например, Л. А. Пономаренко, предлагают подходить к этому лингвистическому явлению дифференцировано и доказывают, что «многие

⁹ Об особенностях этих типов инлингвизма см. А. М. Рот. Вопросы билингвизма-ALH 22 [1972] 1—2, 47—94.

¹⁰ См. S. Rot, Semantic Interference and the Problems of Isosemantism. XIIth International Congress of Linguists, Vienna 29.8—2.9. 1977. Abstracts 58.

образования, трактуемые обычно как полукальки, являются по сути полными кальками.¹¹ Как показывает материал рецензируемой монографии компоненты гибридных калек (полукалек) венгерского языка, возникших в результате лингвистической интерференции его контактов со славянскими языками, как, напр., *tisztaszoba* 'чистая изба'; *zabalócsüőtörtök* 'страстной четверг', *hamvazószerda* 'пепельная среда' и др., могут состоять из прямых (фонетических) лексических заимствований и проникновений из славянских языков, получивших уже до калькирования «права гражданства» в венгерском языке, т. е. имеющих 5–8 степеней общелингвистической ассимиляции.¹²

Тщательный анализ внутриязыкового и экстралингвистического материала привел Л. Кишша к весьма аргументированному выводу, что процесс семантических изменений венг. *elfüstölög* 'выкуривать' → 'с-парять' → 'удирать'; *fél* 'половина' → 'сторона'; *járás* 'ход, хождение, ходьба' → 'уезд'; *méreg* 'яд, отравы' → 'досада, гнев'; *nemes* 'дворянин'; *ország* 'страна', 'государство'; *térdkalács* 'коленная чашка, надколенная чашка'; *tessék* 'пожалуйста, прошу вас'; *Üdvözítő* 'ведущий к спасению', Спаситель, Спас'; *vakszem* 'висок'; *vesztőhely* 'эшафот', плаха' протекал спонтанно, без участия дискретной интерференции одного из славянских языков.

Весьма примечательно то, что детально проанализированный конкретный языковой материал дал возможность автору рецензируемой монографии показать, что дискретная интерференция славянских языков в венгерском языке охватывает различные лексико-семантические микроструктуры, как термины: государства и права, земле-

делия, виноделия, ... христианства и религиозного обряда и т. д. (всего по данным автора 29 лексикосемантических микроструктур). Обобщенные данные об этих лексико-семантических микроструктурах приведены на стр. 220 рецензируемой монографии.

В конце книги дан указатель лексических единиц венгерского языка, рассмотренных автором.

Таков этот замечательный труд Л. Кишша, знаменующий собой целую веху в исследовании процессов лексического калькирования в венгерском языке с славянских прототипов.

Более того. Он выходит за рамки изучения венгерско-славянских языковых контактов и их лингвистической интерференции. Большая эрудиция автора проявляется сплошь и рядом и в том, как стремясь определить генетические и исторические историчники структурно-семантических, семантических и гибридных лексических калек венгерского языка, восходящих к славянским языкам, он приводит интересные параллели как из других языков карпатского ареала, так и других европейских и азиатских языков.

Этим самым сделан значительный шаг в изучении изосемантических рядов языков евроазиатского языкового ареала, сделаны предпосылки создания семасиологического словаря, о необходимости которого говорил так убедительно О. Н. Трубачев.¹³

Тепло встретили и встретят прекрасный труд Л. Кишша «Славянские лексические и семантические кальки в венгерском языке» хунгаристы, слависты, финно-угроведы, специалисты общего языкознания, представители других общественных наук, в первую очередь, исследователи истории материальной и духовной культуры венгерского и славянских народов.

А. Рот

¹¹ См. Л. А. Пономаренко, Калькирование как вид влияния одного языка на другой (на материале английских калек с русского языка). Киев 1965, 5.

¹² О степенях общелингвистической ассимиляции лексических заимствований и проникновений см.: А. М. Рот, Венгерско-восточнославянские языковые контакты. Будапешт 1973, 156–159.

¹³ См. О. Н. Трубачев, «Молчать» и «таять». О необходимости семасиологического словаря нового типа. In: Проблемы индоевропейского языкознания. Москва 1964.

Papp Ferenc: A magyar főnév paradigmatis rendszere (Leírás és automatikus szintézis) [The paradigmatic system of the Hungarian noun (Description and automatic synthesis)] Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1975, 327 pp.

1. More than a decade has elapsed since the publication of the *Reverse-Alphabetized Dictionary of the Hungarian Language*, compiled by Ferenc Papp.¹ This book can, without exaggeration, be regarded as a treasury of the language, containing 35,171 lexemes classified as nouns (either exclusively or among other functions). The presentation of this vast material, assorted according to various principles, is of great importance in itself, since such a computerized processing is unprecedented in Hungarian linguistics, however, the volume under review emulates that. Finding what is important and regular under the surface of statistics — that is what characterizes F. Papp's dissertation now published as a book.

The idea underlying the whole book is outlined by the author in the Introduction as follows: "Our aim has been complete description, including synthesis, or, complete synthesis, including the description of initial data necessary for such a synthesis" (5). "During both description and synthesis we tried to proceed in a formal manner, this being the only way of securing the automatic performability of all operations; in fact, these days an up-to-date description necessarily means automatizable (automatic) description" (6). "For a rule to be formal, it has to include a complete list, or else it has to replace the list by generating all its members and nothing else" (7).

Regularities of description (and these on synthesis) are discussed in the following order: 1) Root, root type; 2) Variants of

some suffixes depending on root; 3) Questions of possessive suffixes; 4) Vowel harmony; 5) Items of a defective paradigm; 6) Synthesis. The Appendix (267—327) presents a list of problematic words arranged according to the 3rd person singular possessive endings (-a, -ja, -e, -je).

The author did not undertake a formal definition of the notions 'noun' and 'paradigm(atic)', rather, he accepted their current interpretation. He regards as paradigmatic forms of the Hungarian noun those included by L. Antal in his work *The Hungarian Case System*² with the single addition of the temporal ending -kor. Furthermore, he demonstrates the fact that the class of nouns is open enough to permit practically any type of word or phrase (or, for that matter, any piece of nonlinguistic reality) to occur in a nominal position. Some of his examples are the following: a piece of cloth can be inserted in a letter to denote the stuff in a sentence like *Vettek nekem két méter . . .-et* 'I have been bought two meters of . . .' where . . . stand for the piece of cloth itself. Titles of literary works, repetitions of items of previous discourse, quotations etc. can also function as nouns and take nominal endings as well: *Petőfi a "Szeptember végén"-ben . . .* 'Petőfi in his "End of September" . . .', *"Inaszkadái"-ot mondtál?* 'Did you say "work your head off"?', *"Urambátyám"-mal köszönt* 'He called me "Uncle"', etc. (cp. 33, 41—42). These latter sentences are related to the problem of root types (in particular, type 12) as well.

2. The author uses the term 'word forms' to refer to partly different phoneme sequences constituting the 'environment' (in Kulagina's sense) of a particular lexeme, suggesting that 'environment' should be replaced by 'cloud'. This latter

¹ Ferenc Papp (ed.): *A magyar nyelv szóvégműtató szótára* [Reverse-Alphabetized Dictionary of the Hungarian Language]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1969, 594.

² László Antal: *A magyar esetrendszer* [The Hungarian Case System]. In: *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 29. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1969, 146.

term, he adds, would rightly imply that neither of the word forms has any specific status as opposed to, say, the so-called 'dictionary form'. He defines 'root' as 'the largest real common part' of word forms; thus, if two different sequences of phonemes are of the form "abxcdy" and "abcdz", the root is not just "ab"; rather, "abcd".

Papp did not mechanically adopt the RevDict system of root type codes consisting of nine types plus a code 99 for "all the rest", but refined that system by adding root types N° 10, 11, and 12. The lexemes classified into these latter types were given either code 1 or 99 in that earlier formulation.

Root type 10 comprises for root lexemes: *apa* 'father', *anya* 'mother', *bátya* 'brother', *néne* 'sister' (cp. *apám*, *apád*, but: *apja* 'my, your, his father'); type 11 also four ones: *kehely* 'bowl', *pehely* 'fluff', *moholy* 'erineum', *teher* 'burden' (cp. acc. *kelyhet* etc.). From a synchronic point of view, these exhibit metathesis, but historically they derive from type 5 (the *kapocs*: *kapcsot* 'hook' group), cp. their old forms *kelyeh* (< Slavic *kalich*), *tereh*, etc. This type indicates clearly that the distinguished position of dictionary forms is unjustified, since these roots do not 'depart from' the nominative, rather the other way round, nominative departs from other items in the cloud. Type 12 includes lexemes which require a hyphen (—) between the invariable root and endings. Names of letters (*y*, *y-t*), sol-fa words (*re*, *re-t*) as well as three root lexemes (*nonpareille* 'six-point printer's type', *guillotine* 'guillotine' and *empire* 'Empire style') come under this heading, as well as (see above) abbreviations, titles and other phrases in inverted commas.

The term 'variable root type' is only used for lexemes whose form varies between type 1 (the *hajó* 'ship', *asztal* 'table' group) and something else. Any other variation, as well as unique types, continue to belong to category 99 ('all the rest'), e.g. *lélek* 'soul': *lelke* 'his soul',

száj 'mouth': *szájam/szám* 'my mouth' — *szájad/szád* 'your mouth', *fiú* 'boy': *fia* 'his son', *mű* 'work': *műve* 'his work' etc.

The most productive root types are type 1 and type 2 (the *alma* 'apple', *körte* 'pear' group). This means that new items enter practically only these two groups, apart from type 12. In the dictionary material processed, the rate of occurrence of these two types, both among roots and in the whole material, is 94%; all other types, variable and unique types included, make up the remaining 6%.

In Chapter Two, the author gives a main rule for connective (thematic) vowels of singular accusative {T} and plural nominative {K}. Of course, there are departures from that main rule, but it covers quite much of the material, all the same. To do that, the author classifies root final sounds into four categories: 1) "V" = vowels; 2) "P" = *b*, *c*, *cs*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *gy*, *h*, *k*, *m*, *p*, *t*, *ty*, *v*; 3) "L" = *j*, *l*, *ly*, *n*, *ny*, *r*; 4) "S" = *s*, *sz*, *z*, *zs*. The vowel preceding the suffix is denoted as follows: E = *o/ö/e*, E = *a/e*.

The rule, then, is this: {T} = *t*, if the root ends in "V", "L", or "S"; {K} = *k*, if the root ends in "V". Otherwise, {T} = *Et*, K = *Ek*. Lexemes containing an adjectival suffix have *EK* for {K}, irrespective of the root final sound. The same applies for thematic vowels of 1st and 2nd person plural possessive suffixes.

Adjective-nouns are presented in detail, classified according to suffixes and suffix-like endings; variation is dealt with for variable root types, compounds, homonyms and doublets (echo words).

Chapter Three is devoted to 3rd person possessive suffixes. In particular, the regularities of adding *-j-* to endings *-a/e/-uk/-ük* and *a/e-i-m/d/ő/nk/t.k/k* are investigated. The author presents, on the basis of older grammars of Hungarian, an earlier state of possessive suffixation. At that time, *-uk/-ük* was opener (cp. *annyok* 'their mother', *kezek/kezök* 'their hands'); while the plurality of what is possessed was expressed either by a lengthier (*fájain*

instead of *fáin* 'on his trees'), or a shorter (*felebaráti* instead of *felebarátai* 'his brethren') form than today. Adding *-j-* (cases of assimilation included) also followed partly different principles, cp. today's *királyuk* 'their king', *inasa* 'his apprentice' vs. earlier *királyjok*, *inassa* (111–116).

In present-day usage the following regularities prevail: items ending in vowels always get *-ja/-je* endings, those ending in "B" (= *b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, v*) vary between *j*-forms and non-*j*-forms, while those ending in any other consonant get *-a/-e*. In general, the "B" type is characterized by the occurrence of *j*-forms in back-vowel endings and after long root-final syllables, and non-*j*-forms otherwise. The latter case (that of long syllable + *j*) "gives rise to consonant clusters that could suit any Slavonic language: *barackja* 'his peach', *filmje* 'his film', etc." (118).

To explain these observations, the author reaches the most important conclusion of his book: "... our hypothesis is aimed at a unified and plausible explanation of this group of phenomena. Let us assume that Hungarian exhibits a tendency for dislinguistics bases (TDB) whose effect is that at least the most important nominal bases are readily distinguishable in terms of their phonetic make-up (final sounds). The most important base forms are the following: (i) the bare unmodified base: *üveg* 'bottle', *asztal* 'table'; (ii) the base referring to a 3rd person singular possessor (and singular possessed): *üvege* 'his bottle', *asztala* 'his table'; as well as (iii) the bare (= non-possessive) plural base: *üvegek* 'bottles', *asztalok* 'tables'. Obviously, the further twenty-odd nominal bases (*üvegem* 'my bottle', *üveged* 'your bottle', *üvegé* 'of the bottle', *üvegemé* 'of my bottle' etc.) are, on the one hand, less frequent, on the other hand, made up by fairly bulky and specific blocks of morphemes ... (-*emé* 'of my', -*ünk* 'our', etc.)" (119).

The author gives examples to prove that especially bases (i) and (ii) are easy to confuse, since word final *-a/-e* are rather

loaded; therefore, TDB manifests itself not only in *j*-forms occurring in rarer words and delimiting the base by adding another syllable, but also in dropping word final *a*'s and *k*'s (cp. 123: Old Slavonic *besěda* > Hung. *beszéd* 'speech', or *csárdák* 'inns' which used to be a singular form but has been reinterpreted as the plural of *csárda*).

Thus, *-j-* is needed in maintaining oppositions of the *gomba* 'mushroom': *gombja* 'his button' type, as well as telling homonyms from each other (e.g. *ára* 'its price': *árja* 'its flood/his awl/his are', *szaka* 'its period': *szakja* 'his field [of study]', *kelete* 'his east': *kelte* 'its date': *keletje* 'its saleability' etc.).

After demonstrating, by way of various statistical tables, how the refusal of TDB would deprive us from the possibility of detecting any quantitative regularity in the investigation of vowel harmony, compounding, etymological layers, etc., the author provides a system of rules, based on final consonants, for items ending in "B". This system of rules leaves a fairly large class of exceptions unexplained, thus demonstrating that the favourable prejudice we entertain about Hungarian — namely, that it exhibits irregularity to a quite small extent — is rather groundless.

Chapter Four deals with vowel harmony. For us, it appears to suggest one important point: a word takes back-vowel endings, if its last syllable contains *a, á, o, ó, u, ú* (*é, i, í* do not count as vowels here). The material processed, as well as Gy. Szépe's paper,³ leads the author to the conclusion that the tendency of selecting endings will evolve towards the word-final type (depending on the vowel of the last syllable) rather than the classical vowel-harmony type. The main rule of

³ György Szépe: Vegyes magánhangzójú szavaink illeszkedésének kérdéséhez. [On the question of suffix vowel selection for Hungarian mixed-vowel words]. In: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 17. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1958, 105–129.

suffix vowel selection also has, of course, numerous exceptions, as well as variable items, but, according to the author, "the regularity of suffix vowel selection was the easiest to survey of all the problem areas considered" (186).

Chapter Five discusses lexemes of a defective paradigm, arranging them (for Hungarian) in a three-dimensional block having three variables per dimension, thus enumerating 27 types in all. The dimensions and their values are the following: I. According to number (NUM): 1. Both numbers (TOT), 2. Singular only (SGT), 3. Plural only (PLT); II. According to possessive personal suffixes (PERS): 1. Both with and without pps's (TOT), 2. Only without pps's (IMPT), 3. Only with pps's (PERST); III. According to case endings (CAS): 1. All cases (TOT), 2. Nominative only (NOMT), 3. Oblique cases only (OBLT).

Case 1 (1, 1, 1) is the class of words of a full paradigm. We shall discuss only some of the incomplete paradigms. Case 7 (3, 1, 1) corresponds to the 'pluralia tantum' of other languages (e.g. *mézesetek* 'honey moon', *aprószentek* 'the Holy Innocents'), case 10 (1, 2, 1) covers both words occurring only in some fixed possessive form (*búcsúfia* 'fairing', *napnyugta* 'sunset') and adjective-nouns not taking possessive endings (*idei* 'this year's', *városi* 'townsman', *elmúlt* 'bygone' etc.). Case 24 (2, 3, 3) contains words or phrases used in possessive form only, derived, mostly, from verbs, but occurring in all persons (e.g. *tudta* 'being aware': *tudtomon/tudtodon kívül* 'without my/your being aware' etc.).

Chapter Six treats synthesis, that is, the generation of all paradigmatic forms of a lexeme. The given 'sense task' is performed by a determination of endings, including respective \emptyset morphemes, joining the root in the following order: number for root (NUM_R), person for possessor (I PERS), number for possessor (NUM_P), -*é/-ei* possessive suffix (POSS), and case (CAS).

The author presents two models: 'synthesis according to inflection types', and 'synthesis without inflection types'. The gist of the first one is as follows: to execute the sense task, we compare the given lexeme with all rules and lists of the descriptive chapters and assign it to one of the 22 inflection types according to its behaviour as to {T}, {K} and possessive *a/e*. Then, we apply the rewriting rules that will fit the suitable allomorphs of required endings to the root (or, more exactly, to one of the following three kinds of relative base: 1) the 'dictionary form' [*láb* 'foot', *piac* 'market', *gömb* 'sphere'], 2) the 'root + thematic vowel' form [*lába-*, *piaco-*, *gömbö-*], 3) the 3rd person plural possessive form with its last vowel lengthened [*lába-*, *piacá-*, *gömbjé-*]). There is also an algorithm for generating these relative bases, so that, in case of a computerized adaptation, they need not be stored. Further, we find a set of rules indicating which base to use in the generation of a given form; e.g. superlative (SUP) -*n*, -*on*, -*ön* joins base 1 in root types 1–4, and base 2 otherwise. Let us see an example:

Sense task: *kalap* 'hat' + PL + 1 PERS
PL + ELA (where ELA means elative
-*ból/-ből* 'out of')

1. Take root from dictionary, form base 3: *kalappjá-*
2. Take endings from an inventory of endings: $\beta i + nk + ból$
3. $1 + 2$: *kalappjá + \beta i + nk + ból*
4. Rewriting rule: $\acute{a} + \beta = a$
5. Result: *kalappjainkból* 'out of our hats'.

The other model, 'synthesis without inflection types' does not involve going through the descriptive chapters for initial information; rather, with each word, the following pieces of information must be given (and stored):

- (i) Root type: \emptyset = idiosyncratic, 1–12 = types 1–12;

- (ii) Thematic vowel for T: \emptyset = none, 1 = yes;
- (iii) Thematic vowel for K: \emptyset = none, 1 = yes, x = variable;
- (iv) Closeness of thematic vowel: \emptyset = open, = (half) closed;
- (v) 3rd person possessive: \emptyset without *j*, 1 = with *j*, x = variable;
- (vi) Suffix vowel selection: \emptyset = back, 1 = front;
- (vii) Defectiveness: \emptyset = complete paradigm, 1 = defective.

This type of synthesis generates each particular form according to the information stored; then applies rewriting rules to get, eventually, the correct spelling.

E.g.:

Sense task: *fa* 'tree' + PL + 2 PERS + PL + ACC

1. The dictionary information for *fa* gives: root *fá-*, {T} and {K} without thematic vowel, closeness is undefined, 3rd person possessive with *j*, suffix vowel back, complete paradigm;
2. Inventory of endings supplies: *Et* " *tÖk* + *Et*;
3. 1 + 2: *fá* + *Ei* + *tÖk* + *Et*;
4. Rewriting rules: a) since there is no thematic vowel, *Ei* = *i*;
b) since suffix selection is back, *tÖk* = *tok*;
5. Result: *fá* + *i* + *tok* + *at* = *fáitok* 'your (pl) trees (acc)'.

After characterizing the two types of synthesis, the author supplies a survey, according to inflection types, of the RevDiet material processed.

3. Certainly, it is a great merit of the book under review that it posits root type 12 — that the author considers this root type the result of a specific change. Had he not done so, he couldn't have explained why the *sol-fa* letter *re*, the pronoun-noun *te* 'you', and the conjunction *ha* 'if' belong to this type though ending in *-a/-e*. If they

were type 2, they could be confused in the accusative with nominative *rét* 'meadow', *tét* 'stake', *hát* 'back', respectively. Since spelling can only represent phonemes [ɛ:] and [ə:] by inserting a hyphen — *re-t énekel* 'sing "re"', *te-t mond* 'say "you"', *ha-t mond* 'say "if"' — this is the only way of explaining the behaviour of such vocabulary items. Root type 12 is as productive as types 1 and 2, especially as using abbreviations is on the increase. Furthermore, the same word can simultaneously belong to types 1/2 and 12 (e.g. numerals spelled out or written in figures). Another example is the word *tv* — *tévé* 'television', not yet recorded in RevDiet, which has gone over from type 12 to type 1 (*tv-ben* > *tévében* 'on television').

The chapter on synthesis does not mention it, but in our opinion in some cases we have to store the last (pronounced) phoneme in order to determine the assimilation of instrumental *-val/-vel* 'with' and factitive *-vá/-vé* 'into', e.g. *Shakespeare* — "r", 2³ (= *kettő a harmadikon* — "n" or *kettő ad három* — "m" 'two on the third power'), to generate forms like *Shakespeare-ré (vált)* 'became Shakespeare' or 2³-*nal/2³-mal (szoroz)* 'multiply by 2³'. The only small insufficiency of the synthesis is that, though it gives assimilation correctly for the above inflections, it does not cover the case of long final consonants. Therefore, unless amended accordingly, it would wrongly generate *meccsel*, *tetttel*, *tollal*, *finnnel* for the appropriate forms of lexemes *meccs* 'match', *tett* 'deed', *toll* 'pen', *finn* 'Finn'.

We take the postulation of the TDB hypothesis to be of great importance. However, other possessive forms appear to be also of some interest: it is very likely that this is why diminutive *-d*, coinciding with 2nd person singular possessive suffix, has become extinct (cp. the Old Hungarian Blessed Virgin's Lament: *fiodom* 'my little son'; *fiod* = *fiad* 'your son' or *fiacska* 'little son'). Since the lengthening of *a/e* into *á/é* does not only take place in roots but in possessive

-a/-e/-ja/-je as well, cp. *háza* 'his house' — *házát* (acc), *kereke* 'his wheel' — *kerekét* (acc); we should risk the assumption that this lengthening is also of TDB character. However, in that case type 2 would fade into type 1.

Possessive *j*-forms appearing in some specific roots are a pronunciation stunt — to quote just one example not appearing in RevDict, consider the programming term *file* (also *fájl*) 'inventory of data': *file-ja* 'his file', *file-juk* 'their file' (also *fájlja*, *fájljuk*).

The author also mentions the fact that some variable roots having *j* in 3rd person singular possessive, form their plural (= several possessed) without *j* (e.g. *barátja* 'his friend' but *barátaim* 'my friends', *barátai* 'his friends') p. (127). In the reviewer's opinion, there is another kinds of variation as well, namely in one-possessed 3rd person plural. Our intuition dictates both *törökük* and *törökjük* 'their Turk', though only *törökje* 'his Turk', *törökjeim* 'my Turks', *törökjei* 'his Turks' etc.

As for synthesis, our opinion is that the author's aim is more appropriately met by 'synthesis with inflection types' (as formality requires employing rules and lists). This solution does not make storing the whole dictionary necessary, and is capable of generating forms of words outside the scope of RevDict. In practice, however, a dictionary system based on grammatical information and open to constant enlargement, i.e. the second model, is more serviceable.

Unfortunately, we could only present a small part of the contents of the book under review, especially as compared with its importance. It contains many useful ideas which on the one hand, the author intends to work out more fully, and, on the other, his fellow researchers can rely on for creative suggestions. Though by and large Ferenc Papp bases his research on, and derives his conclusions from, the material processed for RevDict, he widens his horizon by going beyond those bounds.

In sum, this book must be ranged with the greatest achievements in Hungarian grammatical literature, both from the point of view of the material processed and from that of the problems raised and solved.

I. S. Vásárhelyi

R. R. Mehrotra: Sociology of Secret Languages. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla 1977, 102 p.

Most of the so-called "modern" trends in linguistics may be characterized by the common feature that instead of giving exact descriptions and explanations of actual linguistic phenomena, they disclose the author's subjective philosophic cerebrations on some abstract topics. This rather easy method of writing studies is followed, among others, by the adepts of "sociology of language". Accordingly, the first of the four papers contained in the book under review ("Communication matrix of criminals subcultures") is nothing but a really good summary of statements made long ago by "traditional" linguistics and repeated *ad nauseam* by the "modern" American school without having added any essential new idea about secret languages (argot, slang). Fortunately enough, the following three papers use a rather "conservative" method while outlining the argot of two Indian social groups ("The secret parlance of Pandas", "Dalali boli: milieu and function"). The last study compares secret number names used by the members of nine different occupational groups ("Secret and secondary number-names: a functional perspective").

In all cases we have splendid delineations of the social status of the speakers of the given slang and of the actual use of their parlance. The author has been acquainted with these half-criminal casts from his early youth on and had the opportunity to observe the functioning of their secret speech. The Pandas are, curiously, an officially recognized criminal priestly cast, guides of pilgrims at the holy

spots of Hinduism (Benares, etc.) and performers of feigned ritualistic acts for them. "Their primary concern all the time is to fleece their victims of as much money as possible by various devices" (25). For this purpose, the guide and the priest use some secret words or phrases in the presence of their unsuspecting client in order not to be understood by him. As a matter of fact, they do not speak an independent secret language of their own. Their parlance is the common Hindi of Benares, with its normal grammar and lexical stock, only a number of related technical terms is mixed with. (Probably, the same is the case with all so-called "secret languages" of the world.) The book gives many examples of such technical terms, not more, however, than a hundred words or so. (N. B. nineteenth-century linguist would have given a full list of words which would have been more relevant.) In all probability, the whole stock of secret terms does not exceed two or three hundred words like in other slangs, too. The main source of secrecy is the figurative use of common Hindi words (e.g. *majhi* 'boatman' means here 'client'). Sometimes words borrowed from Hindi are made unrecognizable by artificial changes in their phonological components, e.g. *khardhā* for ordinary *ardha* 'half'.

It is interesting to note that the argot of Benares Pandas does not show any similarity with the argot of the Pandas of Gaya, another important centre of Hindu pilgrimage being at a distance of more than a hundred miles. On the other hand, it shows striking resemblance with the argot of the *thugs* (religious murderers and robbers) who flourished in the early decades of the 19th century all along the banks of the Ganges river (where also Benares lies).

The Dalals whose slang is analysed in the third paper are brokers or middlemen of silk goods in Benares who procure customers and take them to the retail shopkeeper. There is another category of Dalals who serve as middlemen between

the manufacturers of silk ware and the owners of business chambers. Their slang used in the presence of the customers is characterized, first of all, by distortion of common Hindi words. The main way of effecting language disguise is the adding of the particle *-ūcanā* to the verbs, e.g. *milūcanā* for *milnā* 'meet'. A substantive or an adjective is disguised by the suffix *-wārā*, e.g. *mālwārā* for *māl* 'goods'. Numerals are disfigured by forming proper names from them, e.g. from *ikwāi* 'three' (a secret word itself!) *Ikwai Chand*. The use of these words is illustrated by some interesting dialogues.

The casts mentioned above (and some other groups) use also the secret numerals dealt with in the fourth paper. These names have no etymologies from Indian languages and are different in the individual groups (only a few of them are common to two or three neighbouring groups). Only specific things are counted by the secret number names. "The number-sequence of silk merchants, for instance, can be used to count money, saris, customers; it will not be used to count oranges or the clothes given to the washer-woman at home" (88).

The picture drawn in this instructive study is interesting, among others, by that it proves the actual function of secrecy of "secret" speeches in India while e.g. in Hungary the argot does not play (and, on my opinion, never did play) this role. Hungarian linguists are, with good reason, inclined to place the criminals' language among other professional or group languages (schoolboys' language, etc.) having no function of secrecy. A great deal of words in Hungarian argot refer to things that do not need to be disguised, e.g. "head", "eyes", "to go", "good", etc. In fact, Hungarian criminals never use argot words when arranging a plan in the presence of outsiders. Their use of argot is nothing but a matter of "chic" in prison, in taverns or elsewhere in their own company.

J. Vekerdí

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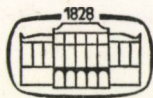
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ON THE INTEGRATION OF TYPOLOGY

By

L. DEZSÓ

The present volume of *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* contains the papers presented at the session of a working group of typologists in Debrecen (June 4-8, 1979). The group consists of linguists from various European countries and from the United States, and is therefore, called East-West (or West-East) group.¹ Its members represented the approaches of major projects (the Cologne project, the Leningrad group, the project of the Encyclopedia of the Languages of the World) in addition to their own views. The Debrecen meeting was not only intended as the continuation of the exchange of views on major issues of typology, it was the first step towards the integration of the results of typology.² The clarification of theoretical and methodological problems is a precondition for integration. Most of the papers in this volume had been distributed in advance, and the conference was devoted to their discussion. Thus, the conference brought about not only a better understanding of the different views but also a convergence of the different approaches, which is, however, not reflected in the papers published in their original versions.

This article is meant as an introduction to the material of the Debrecen conference. It attempts to outline the reasons for the integration of typology and the co-operation of typologists to this end. I shall highlight the isomorphism in the different approaches which serve as a basis of both integration and co-operation by briefly presenting my own views.³ Since this paper was written after the conference, it reflects the consensus of opinion achieved at the conference, but does so within my own frame of reference. However, I do not intend to suggest that the diversity of views had been converted into a uniform approach by the end of the conference. This was apparently impossible, and I would add, not even desirable.

¹ The "East-West" attribute was first used by H. Seiler. This explains the order of the adjectives. The opposite order is my addition.

² The historical background, with special regard to West-East co-operation is examined in Ramat's paper in this volume.

³ For details see L. Dezsó, *Syntactic Typology and Contrastive Grammar*. Budapest-The Hague 1980, Part 2.

The contents of the papers allows for various principles in their ordering. I have chosen the principle of proceeding from general issues to concrete presentations of various subdomains of typology. Seiler's introductory paper reviews the major issues of typology in the UNITYP model of the Cologne project. Since Seiler's article does not include specific problems of phonology, it is complemented by Dressler's paper which accepts an approach close to that of UNITYP. Ramat's article on the history of typology pays particular attention to recent developments. The following cycle of papers examines the problems of type and those of typology: Moravcsik's article on type in general and in linguistics in particular, Yartseva's contribution emphasizing the correlation of various levels in the study of types, and Klimov's paper on his content-oriented approach to typology, which correlates lexical classes, sentence structure and morphological devices in the description of active, ergative and nominative languages. Coyaud's article presents the grammatical phenomena of the East-Asian area relevant to grammatical typology. Khrakovsky's article demonstrates the approach of the Leningrad group to the study of diathesis. It differs from the UNITYP model to a considerable degree and leads the reader back to the problems of models in typology.

1. On the necessity of integration

The necessity for integrating the results of typology can be motivated by various goals. As a "general and applied" typologist, I consider the following three goals to be the major reason for integration.

1. Integration is necessary for the internal development of typology. It implies the clarification of the fundamental questions of typology and the comparison of the answers given to them by various approaches. Such a comparison of views on basic issues and their effects on the details can reveal the similarities and dissimilarities in the typological theories which underlie studies of specific problems. Their isomorphism can open the possibility of convergent tendencies in the development of different approaches, of the transfer of linguistic information and its integration.

2. Typology does not exist for itself. Since, in its nature, it is comparison of the widest scope, its results are or can be applied to the comparison of related and unrelated languages, or to the study of linguistic areas. At present, typology can be used in these fields only by those selves typologists. However, the majority of linguists cannot acquire the competence of present-day typology required by the appropriate application of its results because typology has become one of the most rapidly developing branches of general linguistics. In addition, typological generalizations are scattered about in dozens of articles, and even the facts of the same subsystem can be presented in the frameworks

of various approaches. Only the integration of the results of typology can make typology applicable by linguists interested in comparative or contrastive linguistics, or in the study of linguistic areas.

3. Grammatical theories are supposed to account for the substantive foundations of typology because they should be in accordance with the generalizations about human language, which, however, can only result from an integration of typology. It is apparent to many typologists that linguistic theories must be considered in shaping their approaches. It is not at all apparent that linguistic theories must take both the fundamental issues of typology and typological theories into consideration. But they will have to if they are to use the results of typology in the future. If typology will be applied to the study of individual languages and to their comparison, only linguistic theories accounting for the results of typology will have any impact on the development of linguistic description.

We are still a long way from a stage when the correlation between linguistic theories, typology, the study of individual languages and their comparison will be characteristic of our science. Nevertheless, linguistics is developing in this direction.

At present, the empirical base of linguistics is scattered in thousands of important studies on various languages requiring typological generalization. It will only be possible to cope with the enormous number of facts if they are stored in computer memory banks and processed by typologists.⁴ This will take a long time. Meanwhile, the number of typological generalizations will further increase and their results must be integrated both from empirical and theoretical points of view in order to arrive at a preliminary synthesis about human language as defined by typology. It is this integration that I am concerned with here. It will, however, help us to attain the goals of classifying and storing the empirical base: the facts of various languages can be better described if this is preceded by the integration of our present-day knowledge of typology, of human language, preliminary and incomplete as it now is. With the most important information about the languages of the world stored, new, more complete and reliable substantive foundations of typology and, thereby, of linguistics will be created. But this is a task for the future.

I am convinced that the development of typology requires syntheses from time to time. We are now at a stage when a synthetic stage is necessary. We realize that our synthesis will be incomplete. It cannot cover the empirical base of linguistics and will be restricted to the very small portion generalized by typology. The major task of our co-operation is not the extension of the em-

⁴ The project "Encyclopedia of the Languages of the World" offers us some opportunities for storing and processing the typologically relevant data of languages in computers.

pirical base of typology but the clarification of the theoretical and methodological questions of integration in order to create a relatively small but coherent substantive foundation for present-day typology.

The substantive foundation differs from the empirical base, which consists only of the facts of individual languages and their typological generalizations. The difference lies in the explanation of the facts and generalizations observed. This requires a typological theory applicable to this end. There are various proposals concerning both the general form of such a theory and its application to concrete subsystems of language. Thus, the problem arises not from the lack of theories or models but from their diversity. *Varietas delectat* says the Latin proverb and variety really has its advantages: it offers various aspects and viewpoints, very often complementary to one another. But integration requires the clarification of the isomorphism of the basic parameters and characteristics of the theories to be incorporated in a research programme of integration. If such isomorphic characteristics exist, the different theories can be compared. This is also a prerequisite for the integration of the results obtained by these theories. If this condition is satisfied, the subsystems described by various models can be correlated and integrated. A correlated and integrated typology can be useful and applicable as a solid substantive foundation for linguistic theory, for comparative and descriptive linguistics. It is possible that the comparison of different approaches and the discovery of their isomorphism will help tendencies to converge in their development.

Even such a preliminary integration can only result from a common research programme. The term 'research programme' is interpreted here in two ways. First, it corresponds to Lakatos's notion which belongs to the theory of science and recognizes the coexistence of various theories. Second, if the concurring theories are isomorphic, they can be incorporated in a joint research programme in the commonly accepted sense of the word. It requires co-operation between the groups and individuals whose own research programmes can complement one another. It will be profitable to those who share it and will enrich their theoretical and methodological insights, widen their empirical base and combine their results in a larger and more coherent substantive foundation. This will make it possible to examine new facts, new generalizations and explain further parts of empirical base. The confrontation of the substantive foundation with the empirical base is a permanent concern of typologists. In a co-ordinated programme, however, it can be more effective and more reliable. If the empirical base will be given in a unified form and be as wide as the Encyclopedia of the Languages of the World, only a very sophisticated research programme can cope with it.

At present, typologists remind me of 15th century explorers before the time of the great discoveries. They built good ships and constructed reliable instruments because they knew too little about the world but were eager to

discover far more. Typologists are similar to these explorers in another respect too: they discover what is well known to other people. But these know only their part of the world, whereas the explorers aim at designing a world map. They know that even after a period of successful discoveries around the world, their maps will still be distorted and have many white spots.

2. On the conditions of integration

2.1. The main task of my paper is to reveal the isomorphic and invariant features underlying the various approaches published in this volume. The examination of the history of the major trends of typology which have had an impact on the views of typologists could help us understand both the convergent and divergent tendencies shaping present-day typology. This, however, is beyond the scope of my paper (see Ramat's paper in this volume). The present stage of typology has resulted from various traditions. At an earlier stage typology consisted of less exactly formulated and less detailed theories. Further development has led to a divergency within the same tradition (e.g., the present approaches in Soviet typology) and to convergent tendencies within different traditions (e.g. in American and in Soviet typology). I have the impression that a more exact and explicit formulation of present-day theories led to the differences as well as the general trend of development in convergent tendencies. The latter can be explained by the impact of the empirical base generalized by typology and by the convergency of trends in linguistic theory relevant to typology. I hope that the convergent tendencies will prevail in the future. The differences can be accounted for by correlating the various approaches on the basis of their detailed analysis. In my opinion, which, as usually, is a rather optimistic one, the integration will favour such directions of development. The existence of the factors which indicate a possible positive development does not entail an increase in their role in the future.

Most typological theories are not closely connected with specific grammatical theories. The general development of linguistic theory, however, does influence them. They can also be loosely connected with a trend in linguistic theory. But the formation of typological components within specific grammatical theories is a possible way of development, which, in turn, will lead to the growth of the influence of typology on the given theory.

2.2. The diversity of the approaches presented in this volume will be obvious to the reader. The isomorphic views shared by the different authors definitely need clarification and demonstration. Seiler's introductory paper formulates them within the frame of reference of the Cologne project. The participants of the conference reached a consensus of views: (a) on the rela-

tionship between linguistics and typology, (b) on the subject-matter of typology: the unity of the study of universals, types and of the study of individual languages, (c) on the present-day approach to typological research, and (d) on its research programme. These views were formulated in the model of the Cologne project. Some authors accept them in the form given in Seiler's paper, others would modify them or formulate them in different ways but there is a mutual understanding of the views on the basic issues underlying the various formulations. This is what I mean by isomorphism. I shall try to formulate my views on the level of the theoretical foundations of typology in which an epistemological point of view is predominant: therefore, the details of specific theories are not stressed. Since questions on this level can also be examined from various aspects, my formulation reflects my frame of reference despite my effort to be as neutral as possible.

a) The relationship between linguistics and typology is the first crucial issue. The subject-matter of linguistics can be defined in several ways. Typologists cannot accept a definition which disregards the diversity of languages and the unity of human language. The concerns of present-day linguistics and typology are both the product and the process of linguistic activity. There can be differences in the focus of investigation but, in principle, both belong to the subject of linguistics. Moravcsik explicitly formulates the relationship between linguistics and typology. Linguistics is a field of inquiry which studies the nature of human verbal utterances, "the goal of linguistics is to describe and explain the similarities and differences that obtain among human verbal utterances" (Moravcsik 315 in this volume). Such a definition of the goal of linguistics "motivates typological research in general. Second, it is also a guideline for typologists as to what kinds of typologies they should be primarily be interested in establishing." (Moravcsik 315 in this volume).

b) There is general consensus of opinion among the authors concerning the unity of the research of universals, typology, and the study of individual languages despite the various formulations of this unity which depend on the concrete shape of the theories. This is very important for a common research programme. The unity of typological research is far from being accepted in linguistics, even in typology.

c) Given a typologically relevant definition of the subject-matter of linguistics as the product and process of linguistic activity and the unity of typology, there can be a difference of accent between the study of the product and that of the activity, on the one hand, and differences in the interpretation of the unity of typology, on the other. Seiler emphasizes the linguistic activity in the process of communication: "Language is here understood as a system of operational plans (terminologically referred to as dimensions) which serve as the solutions to specific problems raised by communicating by language" (Seiler 353 in this volume). Such a functional approach to language implies

the knowledge of structure: "It is important for us to demonstrate that language, with all the categories, properties, structures which are found in individual language is a process of construction constantly actualized with definite problem solutions" (Seiler 353 in this volume). It could, therefore, be called functional and structural in order to set it against functional approaches neglecting the problems of structure. In a process centered approach of this kind (I prefer the term 'process'), the application of typology to language learning and aphasia is a direct consequence: "In the observation of language learning, language change and language breakdown it becomes particularly clear that we are confronted with a process. Language variation is also indicative of the process character" (Seiler 353 in this volume).

The process centered approach is formulated in a different way in the Leningrad theory. It is more structure oriented and in detail differs very much from the Cologne model. Nevertheless, Ramat is right when, having analyzed Khrakovsky's views, he writes: "Here we are not far from the concept of language, of every language, as a problem solving system, i.e. a system existing to solve the problems of communicating in a historically and socially determined community: this conception represents the starting point of the Cologne UNTYP-Project. It is not by chance that both the Leningrad and Cologne groups speak of 'techniques' employed to cope with the problems of expressing, at surface level, underlying universal semantic and/or syntactic contents." (Ramat 339-352 in this volume).

The study of universals and of types must be correlated because both form a unique approach directed towards the same goal: "As a preliminary hypothesis it may be surmised that the program LTYP does not only represent a program for the investigation of the correlations, but also simultaneously a program which intrinsically belongs to the language communication process — comparable with the program LUR. This would explain to what extent it is possible for speakers of certain languages to learn, understand, translate etc. any other language of the world" (Seiler 353 in this volume).

One of the major principles shared by the participants of the conference was the correlation of different levels. Klimov's contribution and Khrakovsky's article demonstrated this with concrete examples, Yartseva's paper formulated it generally in connection with the language type: "It is evidently insufficient to make some particular language level as a basis for typological definitions; it is more advisable to seek those interconnected and inter-level phenomena in whose area the specifics of various level markers can be displayed" (Yartseva 275 in this volume). She, however, goes further and specifies the relationship between various levels: "In our opinion, a language type is a certain form of the organization of the notional content in language." (Yartseva 275 in this volume). Most, if not all, of the participants seem to agree with her despite the possible differences in formulation.

The principles underlying the more particular rules and those accounting for typological phenomena on different levels have long been of central interest to typologists. The formulation of principles and their roles in the various approaches has been different. In the UNITYP-project the principles shape the dimensions, explain the techniques observed on the level of typological generalizations and the facts observed in individual languages. I think that the explanatory role of principles can be accepted despite the differences in their formulations which is due to the structures of the various models.

d) In order to sum up what has been said I consider it necessary to characterize the approach presented in the papers in general terms. Our approach is a complex one combining a product oriented, in my frame of reference 'analytic', approach with activity oriented, in my term 'synthetic' approach. A synthetic approach, however, implies an analytic one if this term is interpreted correctly. The product oriented approach applies analysis to the facts of individual languages, generalizes the observations of facts in the typological research. In its methodology taxonomy and induction play a prominent role but deduction and theory are or can be important as well. The majority of the earlier typological studies were of this kind. In my opinion, an activity oriented, synthetic approach implies analysis and complements it by formulating theories in order to explain the observed phenomena. Such theories are based on empirical evidence but are still subject to verification on a larger empirical base. This raises the question of the importance of deduction. Explanation underlines the role of principles. An analytic approach can be restricted to structure, it can be structure oriented, but function is more central. The analytic-synthetic approach proceeds from facts of individual languages to types and to the universal component and from the latter it "goes back" to the facts via types. In my opinion, a complex approach leads to the study of the correlations of various levels and to the relationship between content and form because they are interrelated in the activity of communication.

These characteristics can underlie various theories. A possible and very coherent formulation can be found in the UNITYP model. Other models can differ from it but are to be in accordance with these characteristics. From the point of view of a common research programme not all partial programmes must realize both the analytic and synthetic components. They may be restricted to analysis because it forms a part of the complex approach (cf. Coyaud's paper). In fact, the acceptance of a complex approach is the basic requirement, the degree to which and the ways in which it is realized should be decided by the participants of the programme. A research programme based on such principles differs very much from the objectives of earlier typology, but does not deny them. On the contrary, the papers of this volume manifest its antecedents in the various trends of 20th century typology. I would add that it goes back to von Gabelentz's methodological principles.

I may have been overoptimistic in emphasizing the isomorphic features. Further development of the co-operation of the East-West (or West-East) group will show if I was right. The next task will be the demonstration of the applicability of the presented views to concrete subsystems of language.

3. On the application of process approach

Seiler's article gives brief demonstrations of his conception from various dimensions which are described in detail in the publications of the Cologne project. I want to raise some problems of the process approach with special regard to the integration of various dimensions of well-known domains of typology which are examined in my book.⁵ I shall lay emphasis on the questions of correlations of dimensions or processes relevant to an integrated description of typology. I will use the term 'process', which means a lower degree of formulation and explanation here and is hence not identical with that of the Cologne project. A process can be a candidate for a dimension.

Theme and rheme are to be considered a function on the basis of linguistic theory and the existing literature on theme and rheme. I will use the terms 'theme' and 'rheme' in order to cover a wide range of phenomena instead of topic and comment applied here to the problems of sentence ordering. Theme and rheme are realized in various processes.

One of the processes of theme and rheme is the marking of subject and object relations. It follows two principles: subject marking and object marking. The principle of subject marking is consistently applied in active type marking all subjects. The ergative type is less consistent because it only marks the subjects of transitive predicates. The neutral type marks neither the subject nor the object. Here we have a turning point. The nominative type marks the object and, therefore, applies the principle of object marking. Types have subtypes which will not be examined here. The types of this process are connected with the word classes and have different 'techniques' of marking: usually noun and verb affixes.⁶

In my comment on this process I would like to draw attention to the importance of the results of grammatical theories: those of relational grammar and case theory, on the one hand, and to the correlation with other processes, on the other. One of them is the determination of nouns achieved by various techniques for expressing definiteness, indefiniteness or the lack of both. Another process is the expression of aspect and tense. It seems likely that deter-

⁵ For details see Dezső 1980, Part 1.

⁶ For details see Klimov's contribution in this volume and his article: Вопросы контентивно-типологического описания языков. [Questions of content-oriented typological description of languages] In: V. N. Yartseva and B. A. Serebrennikov (eds). Принципы описания языков мира. Moscow 1976. 122-146.

mination and aspect realize the same function, namely, actualization. There are attempts to formulate theories concerning both processes. In my opinion, the major problem of the integration of typology will be the description of the correlation of various functions and processes.

The problem is relevant to both typology and the description of individual languages. There are important correlations between determination and sentence structure in ergative and nominative types but they are realized in different languages in different ways (e.g., within the nominative type determination affects the use of partitive or partitive-genitive to a different degree and in different ways in the Balto-Finnic, Baltic and Slavonic languages). The same can be said of the correlation between sentence structure and aspect and tense in these languages.

Returning to the function of theme and rheme, I wish to insist that the processes of which this function consists must be described in a coherent way. There are principles of ordering connected with the process of formation of sentence structure. They constitute another process which I will dub the topic and comment of the sentence. It consists of ordering and stressing rules. In my opinion, the ordering rules follow two principles. According to principle (A), the primary topic, the subject, precedes the object, the primary comment, in basic order : S + O. It is realized in three types : the verbal predicate is placed (1) after the object : SOV, (2) between the subject and the object : SVO, or (3) before the subject : VSO. According to principle (B), the subject follows the object : O + S.

These types have their rules of sentence stress. The word order types with their primary, secondary and other variants are well-known, their rules of stressing have not yet been generalized. The "freedom" of word order depends on the possibilities of marking the subject or the object. In "carefully marking" SOV and SVO languages all six variants are correct (e.g. Hungarian or Russian). The SOV and SVO types, which I know better, have transitional or mixed types, e.g., Hungarian displays two basic word order types but applies the principle of sentence stress common to SOV languages. This example raises questions of correlation between word order and sentence stress which are to be considered in a uniform framework if one attempts to show the theme-rheme function in this process. Hungarian is also a good example for the correlation of determination and ordering rules : if the object has an article and/or the verb is in a perfective aspect, the basic order is SVO, if the object has no article and the verb is non-perfective, the basic order is SOV.

The basic ordering rules of a sentence belong to two series of ordering rules referred to as OV or VO according to the order of these two components, or in the older Latin terminology, defining the two principles, as *regens post rectum* and *regens ante rectum*. The ordering rules of verbal and nominal groups have their stressing rules as well.

I think any syntactic typologist could add further problems to my list. The complexity of this fragment of syntactic typology has demonstrated the necessity for a systemic approach, on the one hand, and calls for an account of the correlations between functions and processes both in the formulation of the approach and in its application to typological generalizations, on the other. The extension of a systematic functional approach to typology requires a theoretical explanation of the functions and processes. Theory must cope with the increasing empirical base in order to formulate a substantive foundation of typology.

ПРИНЦИПЫ СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ АСПЕКТУАЛЬНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

А. В. БОНДАРКО

В этой статье рассматривается понятие функционально-семантического поля аспектуальности как одно из возможных оснований сопоставительных и типологических исследований в области аспектологии; излагается предварительная программа сопоставительного исследования на данной основе; проводится анализ функции процессности (на материале русского языка), содержащий материалы для сопоставительного изучения данной аспектуальной функции.

Поле аспектуальности (общие вопросы)

Аспектуальность — это функционально-семантическое поле,¹ конституируемое взаимодействующими языковыми средствами (морфологическими, синтаксическими, словообразовательными, лексико-грамматическими, лексическими и их разнообразными сочетаниями в контексте), объединенными общностью семантических функций, принадлежащих к области аспектуальных отношений, т. е. отношений, содержание которых заключается в передаче характера протекания действия во времени.

Основными компонентами поля аспектуальности являются: а) система противопоставленных друг другу рядов морфологических форм с однородным содержанием, конституирующих грамматическую (морфологическую) категорию вида; б) видовые образования и их оппозиции, характеризующиеся неполной грамматикализацией (ограниченным охватом глагольной лексики и грамматических форм глагола, недостаточной регулярностью); в) видовые элементы форм с видо-временным значением (или с временным значением,

¹ О понятии функционально-семантического поля см.: А. В. Бондарко. К теории поля в грамматике — залог и залоговость (На материале русского языка). In: Вопросы языкознания [1972] № 3 (см. также в переводе на английский язык: A. V. Bondarko, On Field Theory in Grammar — Diathesis and its Field. In: *Linguistics* 157 [1975]. Представленная в настоящей статье характеристика аспектуальности уточняет и дополняет то определение этого понятия, которое было дано автором в ряде предшествующих работ, в частности: 1) К проблематике функционально-семантических категорий (Глагольный вид и «аспектуальность» в русском языке). In: Вопросы языкознания [1967] № 2; 2) Грамматическая категория и контекст. Ленинград 1971, 49—55.

осложненным дополнительными аспектуальными элементами); г) сочетания с «фазовыми» глаголами (со значением начала, продолжения и конца действия) и другие аналитические аспектуальные конструкции (иногда тесно примыкающие к аналитическим формам); д) синтаксические средства с дополнительными аспектуальными функциями (например, конструкции типа *чем больше... — тем сильнее...* в русском языке); е) способы действия (Aktionsarten), ж) оппозиция предельных/непредельных (терминативных/атерминативных) глаголов; з) лексические обстоятельственные показатели типа *долго, мгновенно, постепенно, медленно, часто, вдруг* и) различные комбинированные средства аспектуального контекста, в том числе относящиеся к области «скрытой грамматики».

Не все указанные выше компоненты аспектуальности обязательно совмещаются в том или ином конкретном языке. Как известно, грамматическая категория вида представлена лишь в части языков.² Пункты б) и в) также отражают те компоненты поля аспектуальности, которые нельзя считать универсальными. Что же касается остальных компонентов, то, судя по имеющимся описаниям языков разных типов, они, по-видимому, могут рассматриваться как обязательные (в той или иной репрезентации) для поля аспектуальности в любом языке.

Поле аспектуальности есть в каждом языке: во всех языках так или иначе представлены взаимодействующие языковые средства, выражающие характер протекания действия во времени. В этом смысле поле аспектуальности является понятием универсальным.

Понятие аспектуальности включает в себе прежде всего семантическое основание для сравнения фактов языков разных типов. Таким основанием служат как общие контуры семантической области характера протекания и распределения действия во времени, так и некоторые фундаментальные семантические признаки в этой области, которые могут рассматриваться как универсальные (базирующиеся на универсальных понятийных категориях). На этой базе может строиться анализ черт сходства и различия в аспектуальных функциях, представленных в сопоставляемых языках.

Разумеется, не может быть установлен замкнутый и точный состав фундаментальных (основных) аспектуальных признаков. Не вполне ясно само содержание понятия «фундаментального признака», мы не располагаем строго установленными «критериями фундаментальности». Невозможно установить резкую грань между фундаментальными и нефундаментальными, центральными и периферийными признаками. Однако можно привести несколько семантических признаков, которые играют важную роль в передаче характера

² Принципы отграничения категории вида от прочих компонентов аспектуальности наиболее полно изложены в работе: Ю. С. Маслов, К основаниям сопоставительной аспектологии. In: Вопросы сопоставительной аспектологии. Ленинград 1978, 21—31.

протекания действия во времени и постоянно отмечаются в аспектологических исследованиях и грамматических описаниях языков разных типов, так что можно предположить их универсальный характер. Речь идет об универсальности понятийной основы данных признаков, что не исключает возможности неуниверсальных содержательных элементов в тех конкретных частных реализациях, которые обусловлены особенностями аспектуальной системы того или иного языка.³ Особенности состава, соотношения, распределения и закономерностей функционирования грамматических, словообразовательных, лексических и контекстуальных средств выражения аспектуальных отношений отражаются на самом содержании этих отношений в их конкретных языковых содержательных вариантах, в определенных типах ситуаций и контекстов. Например, нельзя признать содержательно тождественными варианты начинательности в различных сочетаниях с результативностью, интенсивностью, предельностью и непредельностью в славянских языках, располагающих категорией вида и развернутой системой способов действия в сочетании с аналитическими начинательными конструкциями, и варианты начинательности в языках, не имеющих такой концентрации разноаспектных и разноуровневых средств. Даже в рамках славянских языков выявляются особенности отдельных языков в передаче тонких оттенков начинательности, например, в чешском языке с его особым типом контекстуальной ингрессивности⁴ и ограниченными префиксальными средствами выражения начинательности в сравнении с русским языком.

К числу фундаментальных аспектуальных семантических признаков можно отнести такие признаки, как терминативность/атерминативность, достигнутость/недостигнутость предела, обозначение развивающегося процесса/целостного факта, обозначение действия или состояния, выражение актуальности последствий действия для более позднего временного плана (формулировка значения перфекта и его эквивалентов, данная Ю. С. Масловым), обозначение постоянного отношения, локализованность/нелокализованность действия во времени, основные типы временной нелокализованности, в том числе неузуальная повторяемость, узуальность и «вневременность» («всевременность»), обозначение начала, продолжения и окончания действия, обозначение мультипликативного, семельфактивного действия, ослабленной и повышенной интенсивности действия и ряда других способов протекания и распределения действия во времени (по-видимому, среди упомянутых выше признаков есть и признаки периферийного характера; некоторые признаки специально не указаны, так как они включены в тот или иной из упомянутых

³ О соотношениях языковых семантических функций и понятийных категорий см.: А. В. Бондарко, Грамматическое значение и смысл. Ленинград 1978, 72—94.

⁴ См.: С. Иванчев, Контекстно обусловлена ингрессивна употреба на глаголите от несвършен вид в чешкия език. In: Годишник на Софийския университет, филологически факултет 54 [1961] № 3, 1—152.

признаков, например, значение результата включается в понятие достигнутой предельности).⁵

Понятие аспектуальности содержит в себе не только семантическое, но и структурное основание для сравнения — наиболее общие признаки системно-структурной организации, присущие аспектуальности как функционально-семантическому полю. Принадлежность сопоставляемых явлений к определенному типу языковых единств дает возможность выявлять в сопоставительном исследовании черты общности и различия в том, какие языковые средства выступают в роли центра и периферии поля.

В понятии аспектуальности можно видеть основу не только сопоставительных (контрастивных) исследований, но и исследований собственно типологических. На базе предварительных ограниченных сопоставительных исследований (и одновременно с ними) может строиться общая типология аспектуальности — определение возможных типов отношений в поле аспектуальности с проекциями на отдельные языки, представляющие те или иные типы.

К постановке вопроса о семантической доминанте аспектуальности

Возникает вопрос: можно ли выделить в многообразии семантических признаков, охватываемых полем аспектуальности, один признак, который мог бы рассматриваться как универсальная семантическая база поля аспектуальности?

Судя по имеющимся аспектологическим исследованиям на материале языков разных типов, нет возможности выявить такой инвариантный семантический признак, который охватывал бы все значения в поле аспектуальности любого языка и вместе с тем был бы более конкретным и определенным, чем содержание, вкладываемое в понятие аспектуальных отношений (определяющих характер протекания действия во времени). Вместе с тем представляется, что нет оснований ограничиваться простой констатацией множественности конкретных семантических компонентов поля аспектуальности. В предположительной форме можно поставить вопрос о семантическом признаке, доминирующем в поле аспектуальности в данном языке или в данной группе языков. В славянских языках (и не только в них, но мы сейчас ограничимся этими языками) таким признаком является отношение действия к его внутреннему пределу.

Вопрос о выделении того основного семантического признака, на который опирается поле аспектуальности, был поставлен применительно к рус-

⁵ О составе и содержании основных семантических признаков в поле аспектуальности и их соотношении в ряде индоевропейских языков дает представление указанная выше статья Ю. С. Маслова («К основаниям сопоставительной аспектологии»), имеющая чрезвычайно важное значение для аспектологической теории.

скому языку М. А. Шелякиным. Таким признаком, по мысли автора, является противопоставление ограниченности/неограниченности действия пределом. На передний план М. А. Шелякин выдвигает интегрирующую функцию данного противопоставления: его роль в объединении и связи семантики вида в русском языке и семантики предельных/непредельных глаголов, а также семантики способов действия.⁶

Определяя понятие аспектуальных способов действия, М. А. Шелякин подчеркивает объединяющее их отношение к пределу: «... способы действия — это общие особенности лексических значений отдельных групп глаголов, выражающие тип протекания и распределения действий по отношению к пределу их осуществления во времени.»⁷

Вывод о том, что отношение действия к его внутреннему пределу представляет собой доминирующий признак в поле аспектуальности (в славянских языках и ряде других индоевропейских языков), вытекает из тех фактов, которые были обобщены Ю. С. Масловым при характеристике качественной аспектуальности. Понятие отношения к пределу (в самом широком смысле) охватывает как оппозицию терминативности/атерминативности (оппозицию предельного действия, т. е. направленного к внутреннему пределу, и действия непредельного, не направленного к пределу), так и оппозицию «предельное действие, достигающее своего предела: действие, хотя и направленное к пределу, но рассматриваемое в той фазе, когда предел еще не достигнут».⁸ На наш взгляд, признак отношения действия к пределу охватывает и противопоставление действия в собственном смысле, которое может быть предельным и непредельным, и состояния или статистического отношения, являющихся непредельными. Что же касается «вторичных состояний» — «состояния в результате (завершенных) действий», например, *Я устал*, то они, как отмечает Ю. С. Маслов, опираются на обозначение предельного и притом завершенного действия.⁹ Отношение к пределу распространяется также на «фазисную детерминацию действия». Таким образом, это отношение играет определяющую роль во всей области качественной аспектуальности.

Рассматриваемый признак обнаруживает свое обуславливающее воздействие и по отношению к некоторым признакам в области количественной аспектуальности.¹⁰ Так, в русском языке один тип длительности (*долго*

⁶ См.: М. А. Шелякин, Приставочные способы глагольного действия и категория вида в современном русском языке (к теории функционально-семантической категории аспектуальности). Докт. дисс. Ленинград 1971, 41—43.

⁷ М. А. Шелякин, Основные проблемы современной русской аспектологии (2). — В сб., Вопросы русской аспектологии, П. 1п: Ученые записки Тартуского гос. университета, вып. 434. Тарту 1977, 13.

⁸ См.: Ю. С., Маслов, К основаниям сопоставительной аспектологии. . . 10.

⁹ См. там же, 17—18.

¹⁰ Понятия качественной и количественной аспектуальности введены Ю. С. Масловым. См. его статью Универсальные семантические компоненты в содержании грамматической категории совершенного/несовершенного вида. 1п: Советское славяноведение [1973] № 4, 73—83.

гулял, писал и т. п.) связан с неопределенностью или недостижимостью предела, а другой (*погулял часа два, проспал всю ночь*) — с внешним (временным) пределом. Глаголы многократного (*хаживал, нашивал*), прерывисто-смягчительного (*побаливать, повизгивать*), мультипликативного (*мигать, щелкать*) и некоторых других способов действия неопредельны, тогда как глаголы семельфактивного способа действия (*мигнуть, щелкнуть* и т. п.), а также дистрибутивного (*побросать, переловить, повскакать* и т. п.) и ряда других способов действия связаны со значением предельности. Признак повышенной степени интенсивности связан с тенденцией к исключительному или преимущественному обозначению достигнутого предела.

В целом признак отношения действия к его внутреннему пределу является в славянских языках и ряде других индоевропейских языков хотя и не всеобъемлющим и не абсолютно инвариантным и «общеаспектуальным», но действительно основным, доминирующим, «вершинным» в иерархии аспектуальных признаков (как определяющий элементы качественной и существенной для части элементов количественной аспектуальности).¹¹

Возникает вопрос: является ли отношение действия к его пределу такой доминантой аспектуальности, которую можно считать универсальной? Думается, что для утвердительного ответа на этот вопрос нет достаточных оснований.

Описания аспектуальных отношений в ряде языков не содержат указаний на доминирующую роль признака отношения к пределу. Так, анализируя аспектуальные отношения в коми-зырянском языке, Б. А. Серебренников подчеркивает, что «одна и та же глагольная форма, в зависимости от контекста, может выражать в одинаковой мере как совершенное, так и несовершенное действие». ¹² В описании значений многократности, дистрибутивности, рефлексивности и уменьшительности, присущих видовым образованиям коми-зырянского глагола, не устанавливается какая-либо связь с отношением действия к его пределу. Вместе с тем подчеркивается, что отличительная особенность коми языка и родственного ему удмуртского состоит в почти абсолютно регулярном выражении в языке фактической многократности действия.¹³

¹¹ Ср. иную концепцию шведского аспектолога Нильса Телина, по мнению которого наиболее фундаментальным из аспектуальных признаков в славянских языках является признак выражения действий, рассматриваемых как связанные с временной осью или как находящиеся вне этой оси (см.: Nils B. Thelin, *Towards a Theory of Aspect, Tense and Actionality in Slavic*. Uppsala 1978, 13, 30—37). На наш взгляд, здесь не учитывается тот факт, что противопоставление значений сов. и насов. вида, имеющих прямое отношение к понятию предела, сохраняется и при выражении действий, находящихся вне временной оси, в частности действий обычных и «вневременных». См. об этом: А. В. Бондарко, Вид и время русского глагола (значение и употребление). Москва 1971, 21—42, 104—112, 134—141.

¹² Б. А. Серебренников, Категории времени и вида в финно-угорских языках пермской и волжской групп. Москва 1960, 85. См. там же, 85.

¹³ См. там же, 85.

Описывая способы протекания действия в эскимосском языке (где отсутствует грамматическая категория вида), Г. А. Меновщиков отмечает, что различение глаголов по предельности и неопределенности охватывает лишь ограниченную группу глаголов.¹⁴ Данное описание дает картину множества семантических признаков, среди которых ни один не представлен как доминирующий.

Разумеется, многое зависит от способа описания, установки исследователя, однако думается, что грамматические описания такого рода так или иначе отражают возможность разной значимости признака отношения к пределу в поле аспектуальности, в том числе и значимости неопределенной. Возникает предположение, что доминирующую роль в том или ином языке могут играть и другие семантические признаки. Возможны и такие соотношения, когда в поле аспектуальности того или иного языка трудно выделить какой-то один признак или оппозицию признаков как семантическую доминанту данного поля.

Возможная программа сопоставительного исследования поля аспектуальности в языках различного строя

Одним из возможных путей сопоставительного анализа поля аспектуальности является самостоятельный и независимый анализ данного поля в каждом из исследуемых языков, но по единой схеме, с последующим сравнением результатов исследования.

Изложим примерную программу исследований данного типа.¹⁵

1. Вопросы по общей структуре поля аспектуальности — его компонентам и их взаимосвязям

1. Каковы компоненты поля аспектуальности в данном языке?
2. Является ли центром (ядром) аспектуальности в исследуемом языке грамматическая категория вида? Если нет, то какой компонент поля аспек-

¹⁴ См. Г. А. Меновщиков, Грамматика языка азиатских эскимосов. Ч. II. Ленинград 1967, 41.

¹⁵ Вопросы этой программы, представленные в пунктах I и II (см. ниже), были в своем большинстве включены в проспект коллективной монографии «Теория грамматического значения и аспектологические исследования», над которой работает группа сотрудников Ленинградского отделения Института языкознания АН СССР; данный раздел проспекта был составлен автором настоящей статьи, обсужден и одобрен на заседании проблемной группы по грамматической семантике. Пользуюсь случаем выразить благодарность участвовавшему в обсуждении проспекта проф. Ю. С. Маслову, а также членам группы Е. А. Реферовской, В. М. Павлову, В. П. Недялкову, Д. М. Насилову, С. А. Шубику, Н. А. Козинцевой и А. П. Сытову за сделанные замечания.

туальности может быть признан его центром?¹⁶ Возможен ли по отношению данному языку однозначный ответ на вопрос о наличии или отсутствии грамматической категории вида? Если нет, т. е. если в данном языке представлены «промежуточные случаи» частичной, неполной грамматикализации аспектуальных различий, «квазивидовых» образований, видо-временных форм при отсутствии явных форм вида за пределами времени и т. д., то каковы основные признаки этих аспектуальных элементов?

3. Характеристика взаимосвязей компонентов аспектуальности (включая анализ комбинированных, косвенных и других «скрыто-грамматических» средств выражения аспектуальной семантики).

4. Характеристика соотношения (пересечения) полей аспектуальности и темпоральности, а также (возможно, но не обязательно) модальности и т. д.

II. Вопросы по категории вида

Если в данном языке центром (ядром) поля аспектуальности является грамматическая категория вида, то основными пунктами программы исследования данной категории являются следующие:

1. Система форм вида, в частности:

а) состав видовых оппозиций; их характер (привативные, эквивалентные); входят ли в состав той или иной видовой оппозиции «общие формы» (типа форм общего разряда в английском языке)?

б) состав форм, охватываемых категорией вида; характер форм (синтетические и аналитические формы); как относятся к аспектуальной семантике формы, не охватываемые категорией вида?

в) в каких пределах формы вида являются формами одного и того же слова? является ли образование видовых форм регулярным?

г) охватывает ли категория вида всю лексику; в какой мере представлены в данном языке лексемы, относящиеся лишь к одному из видов (каковы пределы видовой соотносительности/несоотносительности); есть ли глагольные лексемы, не имеющие видовой характеристики?

д) общие выводы о степени грамматикализации выражения аспектуальных различий;

е) к какому типу видовых оппозиций можно отнести видовые оппозиции в данном языке) (имеются в виду такие типы видовых оппозиций, как: 1) ограниченные/неограниченные по охвату глагольных форм; 2) ограниченные/неограниченные по охвату глагольной лексики и т. д.).

¹⁶ Имеются в виду случаи, когда в данном поле по определенным критериям выделяется центр или несколько элементов полицентрической структуры, однако в принципе следует учесть возможность существования такого поля аспектуальности (в каком-либо языке), в котором трудно выделить центр.

2. Категориальные значения форм вида в их отношении ко всем значениям, связанным с этими формами, в частности:

а) каков семантический признак, лежащий в основе видовой оппозиции?

б) является ли данный признак постоянным для данной формы?

в) имеются ли периферийные аспектуальные признаки, выражаемые с участием форм вида и контекста; как соотносятся эти признаки с категориальным видовым значением (наличие/отсутствие семантической связи и т. п.)?

г) имеются ли связанные с формами вида в определенных типах контекста побочные семантические признаки, выходящие за пределы аспектуальности (например, модальные, эмоционально-экспрессивные)?

3. Основные закономерности функционирования видов, в частности:

а) типы аспектуальных ситуаций и их разновидности, представленные в разных типах аспектуального контекста;

б) сочетаемость форм вида с лексическими элементами аспектуальности (типа *часто, долго, постепенно, вдруг* и т. п.);

в) взаимная сочетаемость видовых форм (основные закономерности).

4. Соотношение вида и времени (в частности: соотношение парадигм вида и времени; выступает ли категория вида за пределами форм времени или в данном языке можно говорить только о видо-временных формах; может ли одна и та же форма времени выступать в разных видах; соотношение аспектуальных и темпоральных функций); вид, время и таксис.

5. Соотношение вида и других категорий глагола (залога, наклонения и т. д.).

III. Вопросы по семантическим признакам, составляющим план содержания поля аспектуальности

1. Какие семантические признаки и их оппозиции могут рассматриваться в данном поле как фундаментальные?

2. Можно ли выделить среди фундаментальных признаков семантическую доминанту поля аспектуальности? Если да, то какой признак или какая оппозиция признаков играет в данном поле доминирующую роль?

3. Как представлен в данном языке семантический признак отношения к пределу:

а) как реализуется и какими средствами выражается оппозиция терминативности/атерминативности?

б) все ли глаголы могут быть определены как терминативные либо атерминативные; может ли быть выделена группа глаголов двойственного или нейтрального характера по отношению к терминативности/атерминативности?

в) каковы условия реализации признаков направленности на достижение предела/достигнутости предела при употреблении терминативных глаголов; является ли данное противопоставление грамматикализованным; является ли его выражение облигаторным или факультативным; возможно ли (и в каких условиях) нейтральное отношение к данному противопоставлению; какова роль этого противопоставления в плане содержания поля аспектуальности?

г) каково отношение признаков терминативности/атерминативности и направленности на предел/достигнутости предела к другим семантическим признакам качественной и количественной аспектуальности; в какой степени эти признаки воздействуют на другие элементы аспектуальной семантики; могут ли быть выделены аспектуальные признаки, не контактирующие с тем или иным отношением к пределу?

4. Как представлена в данном языке оппозиция признаков локализованности/нелокализованности действия во времени:

а) какую роль данная оппозиция играет в иерархии семантических признаков поля аспектуальности?

б) имеются ли в данном языке специальные формы для выражения признаков, образующих данную оппозицию?

в) оказывает ли эта оппозиция воздействие на другие аспектуальные семантические признаки; в чем проявляется это воздействие?

г) какие разновидности признака нелокализованности действия во времени могут быть выделены в данном языке?

Аналогичные вопросы (с учетом специфики каждого конкретного семантического элемента) могут быть поставлены по отношению к другим семантическим признакам, которые могут предположительно рассматриваться как принадлежащие к числу фундаментальных признаков поля аспектуальности.

Далее предлагается опыт более детальной разработки одной из аспектуальных функций (как материал для дальнейших сопоставительных исследований).

Анализ функции процессности (на материале русского языка)

Говоря о процессности, мы имеем в виду обозначение действия (или состояния), зафиксированного в один из моментов (периодов) его протекания или длительности. Процессный тип употребления несовершенного вида

(НСВ) подводится под следующее типовое описание: «в тот момент (период) времени, о котором идет речь, происходит данное действие (акциональная разновидность) или длится данное состояние (статальная разновидность)». Например: а) *Коврин остановился в изумении. На горизонте, точно вихрь или смерч, поднимался от земли до неба высокий черный столб* (А. Чехов); б) *На этажерке в гостиной лежит письмо тебе. . .* (М. Горький).

Процессная функция предполагает отражение динамики протекания действия во времени (от прошлого к будущему). Динамика процесса в момент (период) его фиксации заключается в отражении перехода от одного состояния в осуществлении процесса к другому. Каким бы кратким ни был момент (период) фиксации процесса, наблюдатель (воспринимающий субъект) «схватывает» изменение, переход от одного состояния к другому, и это отражается в языковом значении процессности.¹⁷ Существенный элемент динамики заключается также в следующем: обозначение действия в процессе его протекания предполагает, что действие протекало до момента фиксации и будет протекать после него, так что фиксируемая фаза протекания действия является срединной: — — — — — → — — — — —. Это соотношение динамики непосредственно обозначаемого процесса как срединной фазы действия с подразумевающимися фазами — предшествующей и последующей — и создает внутреннюю динамическую структуру протекания действия во времени.¹⁸ Назовем этот элемент содержания процессной функции признаком динамичности.

Признак динамичности характеризует не только акциональную, но и статальную разновидность процессной функции: длительность состояния в момент его фиксации передается в ее протекании во времени — от прошлого к будущему, причем непосредственно фиксируемая срединная фаза длительности состояния предполагает предшествующую и последующую длительность (не находящуюся непосредственно в поле зрения, остающуюся как бы «за кадром»). Например: *Я взглянул на жену: она сидела на камне* (В. Белов).

Разумеется, состояние статично в том смысле, что его длительность не приводит к каким-либо изменениям в ситуации (в отличие от динамичности действия), однако это уже иное содержание понятий динамичности и статичности. Мы же имеем в виду динамичность в протекании процесса во времени — от прошлого к будущему, а в этом отношении статальная разновидность процессной функции не отличается от акциональной.

Не всякое состояние может рассматриваться как разновидность процессной функции. В частности, состояние, выражаемое такими глаголами, как

¹⁷ Фиксация процесса предполагает некоторую длительность его восприятия, так что момент фиксации фактически представляет собой скорее период (неопределенный отрезок) времени, чем собственно момент. Далее «момент фиксации» трактуется именно в этом смысле.

¹⁸ Э. Кошмидер писал: «... если данный факт совершается, то это значит, что он только что совершался и будет совершаться в дальнейшем. . . Такой способ понимания относительного движения во времени я называю направительной отнесенностью из прошлого в будущее». Э. Кошмидер, Очерк науки о видах польского глагола. Опыт синтеза. In: Вопросы глагольного вида. Москва 1962, 137.

знать, надеяться, бояться, опасаться и т. п., не представляется как конкретная длительность в ее временной протяженности и течении в направлении от прошлого к будущему, например: *Амфитеатрова я знаю. Это человек с дарованием* (А. Чехов); *Надеюсь на твое благородство...* (А. Чехов). Подобные состояния непроецессны.¹⁹

Выражаемая формами совершенного вида (СВ) целостность факта противоположна процессности: она предполагает отсутствие внутренней динамической структуры протекания действия во времени: обозначается готовый факт, фиксируемый как целое, без выделения срединной фазы его осуществления.²⁰ Например: *Павлуня видел, как он нашел самую длинную жердь и приколотил к ней скворешник с веткой* (В. Белов).

Согласуется ли суждение о неспособности СВ выражать действие, обладающее внутренней динамической структурой, с тем фактом, что глаголы СВ могут передавать ограниченную длительность действия? Речь идет о случаях типа — *Приходи, проживешь три дня, а там увидим* (А. Чехов). *Так он просидел и вторую ночь* (В. Астафьев). На наш взгляд, подобные факты не противоречат указанному суждению: длительность представлена здесь не как срединная стадия действия или состояния, длящегося в тот момент, о котором идет речь, а как нединамическая, непроецессуальная длительность целостного факта, ограниченная временным пределом. Следовательно, и в таких случаях признак динамичности отсутствует.

Из самого содержания функции процессности вытекает, что она заключает в себе не только элемент динамичности, но и элемент неограниченности действия внутренним пределом. Процесс представляется как уже протекающий и еще не завершенный.²¹ Напротив, присущий формам СВ признак целостности содержит в себе семантический элемент ограниченности действия внутренним пределом.²²

Заметим, что понятие ограниченности/неограниченности действия пределом не совпадает с понятием достигнутой/недостигнутой предела, хотя эти понятия частично перекрещиваются. Оппозиция достигнутой/недостиг-

¹⁹ О разных типах состояний см.: Ю. С. Маслов, К основаниям сопоставительной аспектиологии. . . , 11—12. Здесь же приведена литература вопроса.

²⁰ Ср. сходные суждения Б. Комри о перфективном значении как значении целостности обозначаемой ситуации безотносительно к ее внутренней темпоральной структуре: вся ситуация в целом представлена как простое неанализируемое целое, с началом, серединой и концом, сведенными воедино (см.: B. Comrie, Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems. Cambridge 1976, 3).

²¹ Разумеется, внешний временной предел может быть так или иначе обозначен средствами контекста, например: *Вчера мы работали с восьми утра до трех часов дня; Они сидели и разговаривали, пока не прозвенел звонок*. Однако ограничения такого рода являются внешними по отношению к данному действию. Сущность же процесса остается неизменной: и в таких случаях действие представлено в срединной стадии своего протекания, в котором нет внутренней ограниченности пределом.

²² О том, что одной из сторон целостности действия является его ограниченность пределом и что определение СВ, основанное на понятии целостности, и определение, базирующееся на понятии внутреннего предела, не исключают друг друга, см.: А. В. Бондарко, Вид и время русского глагола. . . 18.

гнутости предела касается лишь предельных (терминативных) глаголов, тогда как оппозиция ограниченности/неограниченности действия пределом охватывает как терминативные, так и атерминативные глаголы (*веселиться, гостить, гулять, дежурить* и т. п.). Выражая действие в процессе его протекания, такие глаголы вместе с тем выражают действие, не ограниченное внутренним пределом. Примечательно, что префиксальные образования делимитативного и пердуративного способов действия от атерминативных глаголов (*погостить, поспать немного, проспать всю ночь* и т. п.) по существу обозначают не действия или состояния, достигшие своего предела (эти действия и состояния не направлены на предел), а действия или состояния, ограниченные временным пределом. Глаголы типа *заахать, заалеть, заволноваться* и т. п. также не обозначают достижения действием предела, так как действия *ахать, алеть, волноваться* не направлены на предел. Указанные глаголы обозначают начало, наступление непредельного (атерминативного) действия, здесь нет достижения действием предела, но есть ограниченность действия пределом. Вместе с тем, как уже было сказано, рассматриваемые понятия частично перекрещиваются: выраженное глаголом СВ действие, достигающее своего предела (*сделать, построить, написать* и т. п.), вместе с тем есть действие, ограниченное пределом; действие, не достигающее предела, в то же время не ограничено пределом.

Таким образом, функция процессности представляет собой не элементарный семантический элемент, а комплекс семантических признаков. Эти признаки и их корреляты, как было показано, отражают тесную связь данной оппозиции с доминирующим в поле аспектуальности отношением действия к понятию предела.

Для реализации процессной функции необходимы определенные условия контекста. Процессность является функцией не только вида (НСВ), но и контекста. Именно контекст отличает данный тип употребления НСВ от других типов, в которых процессность отсутствует. Если иметь в виду не только формы НСВ, а весь комплекс средств выражения процессности в высказывании, то предметом анализа — на уровне функционирования словоформ в контексте — становятся процессные ситуации.

Важнейшим контекстуальным и ситуативным условием реализации функции процессности является тот признак процессных ситуаций, который можно назвать перцептивностью. Процессное действие — это действие, воспринимаемое в процессе его протекания, действие наблюдаемое (или воспринимаемое на слух, осязаемое и т. д.). Признак перцептивности реализуется и конкретизируется в обозначении момента фиксации процесса, наблюдателя (воспринимающего субъекта) и места протекания воспринимаемого процесса (в определенном отношении к позиции восприятия).

Из этих элементов перцептивности наиболее существенным для характеристики собственно аспектуальных отношений является момент фиксации

процесса. Этот момент представляет собой отражение в восприятии субъекта того момента (периода), к которому отнесено в данном высказывании протекание самого действия.²³

Момент фиксации процесса так или иначе находит отражение в тексте высказывания. Он может быть выражен эксплицитно. Таковы, в частности, высказывания с элементами типа *видел, как, смотрел, как, было слышно, как, чувствовал, как, посмотрите* и другими средствами выражения времени наблюдения (и шире — восприятия) процесса: *Я не верил своим глазам, Он вышел в сад* (далее описывается увиденное субъектом) и т. п.

Выражение элементов перцептивности может быть комплексным. Так, в высказывании *Вон бежит собака* (Ю. Казаков) *вон* — это показатель места протекания процесса в актуальном соотношении с местом его наблюдения, вместе с тем это косвенный показатель отношения процесса к воспринимающему субъекту (в данном случае — говорящему, находящемуся в позиции наблюдателя), кроме того, *вон* — это показатель времени протекания и времени наблюдения процесса (то и другое — актуальное настоящее время момента речи).

Момент фиксации процесса и признак перцептивности в целом может и не иметь специального, эксплицитного выражения в тех или иных элементах данного высказывания, однако он так или иначе (если не эксплицитно, то имплицитно) все же отражается в тексте. Так, в тексте художественных произведений широко представлена условная наблюдаемость процессов с позиции автора. Подразумевается (и это обычная условность художественного повествования), что автор может выступать в роли наблюдателя, свидетеля описываемых событий. Например: *Тедди облизнулся и закачался на задних лапах. Качаясь, он напряженно размышлял* (Ю. Казаков).

Заметим, что компоненты ситуации восприятия (прежде всего наблюдения) широко представлены не только при описании процессных ситуаций, но и при описании ситуаций иного рода, в частности, связанных с обозначением (при помощи СВ) целостных фактов. Например: *Филипп смотрел, как брат придвинул к часам скамейку, открыл дверцу футляра, снял с гвоздика ключ* (К. Федин). Важно, однако, подчеркнуть, что для процессности характерна особая роль условий наблюдаемости: они становятся актуальными, необходимыми и обязательными для реализации процессной функции, более того, они включаются в ситуацию процессности как ее существенные и актуальные компоненты. Между тем за пределами процессности (см. приведенный выше пример) ситуация наблюдения оказывается лишь одним из возможных (но не обязательных) типов ситуации и контекста, она играет лишь внешнюю роль

²³ См. характеристику «момента, о котором идет речь» применительно к употреблению видов русского глагола в кн.: M. A. Scheljakin und H. Schlegel, *Der Gebrauch des russischen Verbalaspekts. Teil I. Theoretische Grundlagen*. Potsdam 1970, 65—70.

и не становится существенным фактором, обуславливающим реализацию той или иной аспектуальной функции.

Для характеристики процессности на уровне функционирования словоформ существенны обстоятельственные аспектуальные признаки процессных ситуаций. Такие признаки являются дополнительными актуализаторами процессности: указание на темп, степень интенсивности, длительность действия и т. д. сосредоточивает внимание на самом ходе его осуществления и тем самым подчеркивает процессность. Например, темп процесса (*медленно, понемногу* и т. п.): *Теперь над овсами возникло множество облачков. Они медленно надвигались с овсов к последней роте* (А. Толстой); интенсивность процесса; одно из средств ее выражения — повторение глагола: *Слушал я слушал и — как зарыдаю!* (А. Чехов); длительность (*долго, три дня* и т. п.): *Даня долго перешагивал уроненную на дорогу жердь и чуть-чуть не чебурахнулся* (В. Белов).

Возможность или невозможность выражения процессности зависит и от лексического значения глагола.²⁴ Так, непроцессными являются глаголы, обозначающие пространственные, посессивные и другие отношения (*включать, совмещать, иметь, принадлежать, стоять, ограничиваться, определять, противоречить* и т. п.).

В сфере процессности есть центр и периферия. Центром процессности, т. е. областью сосредоточения «чистых» качественных элементов данного семантического признака, не смешанных с элементами других признаков, является сфера реализации конкретно-процессной функции, т. е. выражение единичных, конкретных (неповторяющихся) процессных ситуаций. Однако процессность возможна и при выражении повторяющихся (в частности обычных и типичных) действий.

Процессная функция при обозначении повторяющихся действий реализуется главным образом в условиях так наз. наглядно-примерной разновидности неограниченно-кратного типа употребления НСВ: в рамках повторяющейся ситуации сохраняется метафорическая конкретность эпизода, представляющего аналогичные ситуации. Например: *Когда я, что бывало очень редко, заходил вечерами в эту квартиру, то всякий раз заставлял такую картину: Путохин сидел за своим столом и переписывал что-нибудь, его мать и жена, тощая женщина с утомленным лицом, сидели около лампы и шили; Егорыч визжал терпугом* (А. Чехов); *И по ночам, знаете ли, ходила вдовакнягиня на могилу и плакала. Уж она голосит-голосит, уж она стонет-стонет, и такую на нас тоску нагоняла, что не спим да и все* (А. Чехов).

Выражение процессности при обозначении повторяющихся действий возможно и за пределами наглядно-примерной разновидности неограниченно-кратной функции, в частности, при употреблении «подчеркнуто процесс-

²⁴ См.: О. П. Рассудова, Употребление видов глагола в русском языке. Москва 1968, 30–33.

ных» глаголов. Например: *Дома была одна Настя. Она сидела на полу и листала книжку с картинками. . . Она ее рассматривала каждый день, потому что другой книги у нее не было, и водила пальчиком по буквам, как будто читала* (А. Платонов).

Во многих случаях при обозначении повторяющихся действий процессность отсутствует, например: *Каждый год отец мой приказывал мне говорить* (А. Герцен). Здесь налицо непроцессный контекст (констатируется, а не описывается в процессе его протекания действие, осуществляющееся каждый год) и непроцессный глагол: лексическое значение глагола *приказывать* таково, что оно ориентировано не на передачу течения действия, а на простую его констатацию; исключения возможны (например: *Он приказывал, а лицо его выражало просьбу*), но основной характеристикой данного глагола все же является непроцессность. Таким образом, в подобных случаях неограниченно-кратная функция строится не на процессной, а на «нейтральной», «неквалифицированной» основе (на базе констатации действия без дополнительных указаний на характер его осуществления).

Итак, процессность — это переменный семантический признак, зависящий от разнообразных контекстуальных и лексических условий. На первый взгляд может показаться, что этот признак относится лишь к уровню функционирования словоформ. Однако в действительности он значим и для уровня грамматической системы языка. Речь идет не о конкретных случаях выраженной или не выраженной процессности, а о самой принципиальной возможности выражения этого значения при участии данной грамматической формы. Таким образом, переменный характер семантического признака, его неустойчивость, зависимость от многообразных контекстуальных и лексических условий на уровне функционирования словоформ может совмещаться с постоянной и однозначной характеристикой формы в ее отношении к данному признаку (способности или неспособности его выражать) на уровне грамматической системы языка.

Тот факт, что НСВ может выражать процесс протекания действия, а СВ не может, играет важную роль для характеристики видового противопоставления на уровне грамматической системы языка. Противопоставленность признака процессности признаку целостности действия, представляющему собой категориальное значение СВ, подчеркивает системно-грамматическую значимость процессной функции: как было показано выше, само содержание семантического признака целостности действия определяется именно в отношении к признаку процессности, в оппозиции к нему.

По своей способности передавать действие в процессе его протекания НСВ характеризуется положительным (хотя и не постоянным) семантическим признаком процессности, включающим элемент динамичности, внутренней динамической структуры протекания действия во времени (от прошлого к будущему), тогда как СВ характеризуется неспособностью выражать этот

признак, т. е. отражать последовательные фазы протекания действия — от начала к середине и концу, от прошлого к будущему. Теория вида, подчеркивающая данное соотношение семантических признаков, выражаемых с участием НСВ и СВ, противостоит тем концепциям, которые выдвигают на передний план нулевую или нейтральную природу содержания НСВ, лишая его всякой положительной семантической характеристики.²⁵

Все сказанное выше дает основания рассматривать признак процессности как семантическое ядро, доминанту категориального значения НСВ; которое можно определить как значение нецелостности.²⁶ Такой статус признака процессности обусловлен его системно-грамматической значимостью, выявляемой в соотношении с присущим СВ признаком целостного факта. Вместе с тем признак процессности сам по себе не может рассматриваться как категориальное значение НСВ. Это именно ядро категориального значения нецелостности, охватывающего, помимо конкретно-процессной, и другие функции: постоянного отношения, отчасти обобщенно-фактическую и нейтральную.²⁷

В связи с анализом функции процессности в русском языке возникает ряд вопросов, имеющих отношение к сопоставительной аспектологии. Что в содержании этой функции универсально и что отражает особенности русского и других славянских языков, связанные с системой совершенного и несовершенного видов, с категориальными значениями видовых форм? Ясно, что роль данного признака, противопоставленного в славянских языках признаку целостности факта, в поле аспектуальности этих языков существенно отличается от роли данного признака, скажем, в поле аспектуальности английского языка, где данный признак в сочетании с признаком конкретности, локализованности действия во времени представляет категориальное значение форм прогрессива, противопоставленное значению форм общего разряда, представляющих собой немаркированный член оппозиции. На основании сопоставительного анализа процессной функции в языках разных типов может быть построена общая типология процессности. Аналогичные вопросы возникают и по отношению к сопоставительному и типологическому исследованию других аспектуальных функций.

²⁵ См., в частности: А. М. Ломов, Очерки по русской аспектологии. Воронеж 1977, 26—29, 40—46.

²⁶ См.: А. В. Бондарко, Опыт общей характеристики видового противопоставления русского глагола. In: Ученые записки Института славяноведения. Т. 23. Москва 1962, 202; здесь говорится о том, что в условиях видового противопоставления как в одной позиции (в том числе и при конкуренции видов), так и в разных позициях НСВ выражает отсутствие признака неделимой целостности действия; лишь в условиях нейтрализации видового противопоставления НСВ оказывается нейтральным по отношению к этому признаку.

²⁷ См.: А. В. Бондарко, О категориальных значениях видов русского глагола. In: Семантика и функционирование категории вида русского языка. Вопросы русской аспектологии III. Ученые записки Тартуского гос. университета, вып. 439. Тарту 1978, 3—9.

Думается, что проведенный выше на материале русского языка анализ функции процессности достаточно наглядно демонстрирует тот факт, что центральной и первоочередной задачей сопоставительных и типологических исследований в области аспектологии является прежде всего изучение самого содержания аспектуальных функций, их соотношений, их системы, их универсальных и неуниверсальных содержательных элементов.

Заключительные замечания

Понятие аспектуальности имеет две возможные проекции:

1) на систему языка и 2) на функционирование языковых единиц в определенных условиях ситуации и контекста.

Поле аспектуальности как целостное единство относится к языковой системе. Отсюда вытекает, что исследование, направленное на сопоставление полей аспектуальности в рассматриваемых языках, ориентируется по своим целям и результатам на систему языка (хотя материал для выводов черпается из текстов).

К числу вопросов, требующих в данной связи особого внимания, относится следующий: каково соотношение двух иерархий: 1) иерархии компонентов поля, понимаемых как двусторонние единицы, с учетом не только содержания, но и выражения (грамматического, лексического и т. д.), и 2) иерархии семантических признаков и их оппозиций, рассматриваемых в чисто семантическом плане, безотносительно к характеру выражения.²⁸ Пока ясно лишь то, что критерии выделения центральных и периферийных элементов в указанных выше плоскостях существенно различаются. Вместе с тем есть определенная связь между иерархией двусторонних компонентов поля и иерархией в чисто семантическом плане. Этот вопрос нуждается в специальном рассмотрении.

Вторая проекция понятия аспектуальности ориентирована на уровень функционирования словоформ в определенных типах ситуации и контекста (см. данный выше анализ функции процессности). При таком подходе понятие аспектуальности выступает лишь как исходный пункт анализа, как указание на ту семантическую сферу, к которой относятся изучаемые семантические функции. Целью анализа в таком случае являются не те или иные суждения о компонентах аспектуальности в системах сопоставляемых языков, а типовые соответствия, черты сходства и различия в передаче определенных

²⁸ Ср. определение иерархии семантических оппозиций в рамках качественной аспектуальности в статье Ю. С. Маслова, К основаниям сопоставительной аспектологии, 10–21.

аспектуальных ситуаций и типов аспектуального контекста. При этом предметом анализа могут быть переводы с одного языка на другой.²⁹

В настоящее время уже ведутся конкретные сопоставительные исследования, базирующиеся на понятии аспектуальности.³⁰ Актуальной задачей является интеграция усилий лингвистов, представляющих данное направление исследований, на базе единых принципов и исходных понятий, без чего невозможно сопоставление результатов исследований и построение типологии аспектуальности.

²⁹ О роли изучения переводов в сопоставительной аспектологии см.: Ю. С. Маслов, К основаниям сопоставительной аспектологии, 43.

³⁰ Помимо указанных выше работ Ю. С. Маслова, см., например: Нгуен-Нам, Функционирование видов русского глагола (частные видовые значения в рамках изъявительного наклонения) и аспектуальность во вьетнамском языке. Автореф. канд. дис. Ленинград 1972; E. Sekaninová, Konfrontačná analýza kategórie aspektuálnosti v slovanských jazykoch. In: Príspevky pro VIII. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů Záhreb 1978. Praha 1978, 12—20; А. И. Пихлак, Аспектуальность в эстонском языке (в сопоставлении с русским языком). In: Семантика и функционирование категории вида русского языка. Вопросы русской аспектологии III. Ученые записки Тартуского гос. университета, вып. 439. Тарту 1978, 24—42; Т. Г. Акимова, О ядре и периферии функционально-семантического поля аспектуальности во французском и английском языках (на материале переводов русского повествовательного текста). In: Вопросы сопоставительной аспектологии. Ленинград 1978, 75—88.

NOTES DE TYPOLOGIE GRAMMATICALE

(LANGUES D'ASIE ORIENTALE)

Par

M. COYAUD

Liste de points typiques

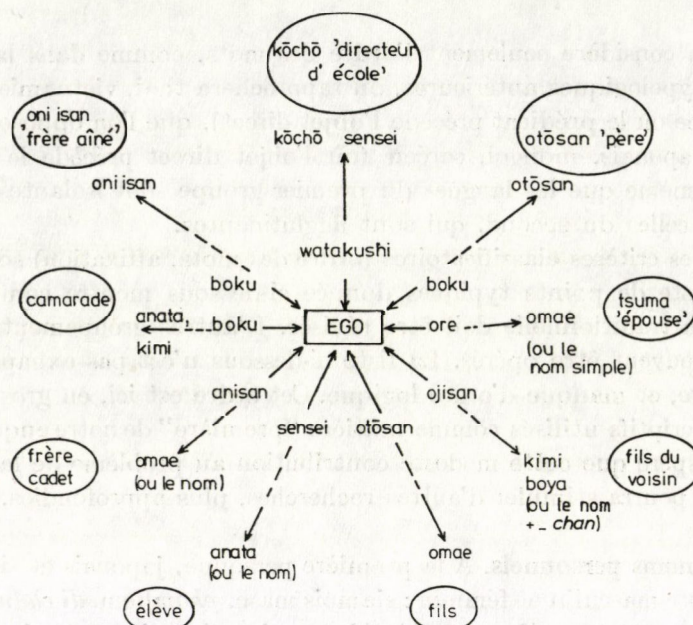
Si l'on considère seulement l'ordre des mots, comme dans la majorité des études typologiques antérieures, on rapprochera thai, vietnamien et mandarin (groupe où le prédicat précède l'objet direct), que l'on opposera en bloc au groupe japonais, mongol, coréen (où l'objet direct précède le prédicat). On dira de même que les langues du premier groupe sont isolantes, par contraste avec celles du second, qui sont agglutinantes.

Mais ces critères classificatoires (ordre des mots, affixation) sont insuffisants. La liste de points typiques donnée ci-dessous montre combien cette classification traditionnelle doit être révisée. D'autres groupements, plus révélateurs, peuvent être opérés. La liste ci-dessous n'est pas exhaustive ; elle est sommaire, et manque d'ordre logique. Cet ordre est ici, en gros, celui des résumés descriptifs utilisés comme matière "première" de notre enquête typologique. J'espère que cette modeste contribution au problème de la typologie linguistique pourra stimuler d'autres recherches, plus approfondies.

1. Pronoms personnels. A la première personne, japonais et siamois distinguent entre masculin et féminin : siamois masc. *phôm*/fem. *dî chăn*. En japonais familier : masc. *ore*/fem. *washi*. Alors qu'en siamois, ce choix est nécessaire, il est neutralisé en japonais poli ou neutre : un seul terme, *watakushi* sert aux deux genres. Le masculin et le féminin, distingué en hébreu à la seconde personne, ne l'est pas dans les langues considérées ici.

2. Déictiques démonstratifs. On note la fréquence des systèmes à trois degrés : l'axe est celui de la proximité/éloignement. Le premier terme du tableau est le plus proche du locuteur, le troisième est le plus loin ; le second est intermédiaire. Dans le cas du tagalog, le second terme est proche : *ito* 'près du locuteur' ; *iyon* 'près de l'allocuté' ; *iyon* 'loin des interlocuteurs'. Le tagalog se rapproche du latin, où *hic* se réfère à la première personne, *iste* à la seconde. Le chinois mandarin ne connaît que de deux degrés, comme le français : *zhèi* '(celui)-ci'/'*nèi* '(celui)-là'.

	près	moins près	loin
ainu	(<i>tean</i> >) <i>tan</i>	<i>taan</i>	<i>toan</i>
japonais	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>a-</i>
otomi	<i>wa</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ni</i>
coréen	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>co</i>
thai	<i>nîi</i>	<i>nân</i>	<i>nôn</i>
viet.	<i>đây</i>	<i>đây</i>	<i>kia đây</i>
tagalog	<i>ito</i>	<i>iyon</i>	<i>iyon</i>
sundanais	<i>ieu</i>	<i>eta</i>	<i>itu</i>



Expression de la 1^{re} et 2^e personne du singulier en japonais. Les origines des flèches convergeant vers EGO sont des 'je'. Ex. EGO s'adressant à un élève (s'il est professeur) se nomme *sensei* 'professeur' il emploie *anata* 'tu' pour l'élève. (D'après Suzuki, Kotoba to bunka [Langage et culture]. Tokyo, Iwanami 1973, 148)

3. Indéfinis. Pour exprimer le paradigme 'n'importe qui, ... quoi', etc., la plupart des langues forment leurs indéfinis sur des interrogatifs.¹

4. Nombres. Le système siamois est partiellement influencé par le chinois. Le système vietnamien est plus autonome. Le système japonais est triple :

¹ M. Coyaud et K. Ait-Hamou, Un universal dans les quantificateurs indéfinis. In : Al-Lisaniyyat [1971] vol. 1 no 2, et in : XI^e Congrès des Linguistes, Bologne 1972.

autochtone, sino-japonais, japlish. Le système coréen est double : autochtone et sino-coréen.

La pluralisation est optionnelle, et d'ordinaire réservée aux humains, dans la plupart des langues d'Asie orientale. En tagalog, elle est très fréquente, et s'applique aussi bien aux adjectifs qu'aux noms (particule préfixée *mga*; reduplication de la première syllabe des adjectifs). En siamois, on adjoint un mot signifiant 'groupe': *phúag*. Dans les autres langues étudiées, ce mot est suffixé: japonais *-tachi* ou *-domo*; coréen *-tal*; mongol *xalx*: *-nar*. Ces suffixes signifient exactement 'et compagnie'. Par exemple en japonais: *Momotarô-tachi* 'Momotarô et compagnie' (avec le singe, le chien et le faisan, ses compagnons de voyage). Le tagalog a un préfixe *mag-* indiquant le pluriel de corrélatifs: *ina* 'mère'; *mag-ina* 'mère et fille'; *amain* 'oncle'; *mag-amain* 'oncle et neveu'; *pamangkin* 'neveu'; *mag-pamangkin* 'oncle et neveu'.

5. Classificateurs. En siamois, on a affaire à un système riche, proche du système chinois (l'ensemble des noms s'emploie avec un classificateur, dès qu'il faut faire intervenir un numéral ou un démonstratif). Le système vietnamien est riche, mais ne s'applique pas à l'ensemble des noms (d'après Eme-nau, en tous cas; cf. Coysaud 1973).² Dans ces langues, les classes nominales ainsi formées ne sont pas disjointes: en siamois, comme en vietnamien, certains noms peuvent être employés avec des classificateurs différents, parfois avec des différences de sens sensibles, mais en général, sans différence autre que dialectale, ou faiblement stylistique. Par exemple, en siamois, 'œuf' peut s'employer avec les classificateurs *foɔŋ* ou *baɔ*. En japonais (comme en coréen), le système est pauvre et mixte (de nombreux classificateurs ont été empruntés au chinois) mais ces systèmes pauvres sont très faciles à distinguer, car les classificateurs concernent des noms très souvent employés.

6. Verbes. Dans le groupe formé par siamois, vietnamien, chinois, les classes verbales correspondent assez bien d'une langue à l'autre. Un autre groupe, constitué par des critères morphologiques, est représenté par les langues agglutinantes: coréen, japonais, mongol. Le tagalog forme un troisième groupe, avec une flexion fort riche, d'après des critères de voix (diathèse), et des affixes d'aspect et temps amalgamés avec les affixes de voix, le plus souvent. Le malgache et l'indonésien appartiennent au groupe du tagalog, avec des systèmes d'affixation moins complexes.

7. Copules. Le siamois est atypique, avec ses trois copules: *pen* 'être, pouvoir, devenir, être en qualité de, servir comme': *khyy* 'équatif: être équivalent, c'est-à-dire'; *châj* 'être exactement, être conforme'. La distinction

² M. Coysaud, Classification nominale en chinois: les particules numérales. La Haye, Mouton 1973.

entre équatif et verbe d'existence que fait le siamois se retrouve en irlandais (cf. Benveniste 1966, 192).³ Le japonais *naru*, qui est une sorte de copule, correspond partiellement au siamois *pen*. Le mongol *xalx* a une copule emphatique, semble-t-il atypique: *mən*.

Il ne faut pas oublier la copule zéro, fort employée, que ce soit en mandarin (exemples bien connus), ou en tagalog: *pilipino siya* 'il est Philippin', dans l'ordre ordinaire, s'oppose à *siya ay pilipino* 'il est Philippin', où la particule *ay*, semble avoir la fonction de thématiser le nom précédent.

8. Adjectifs. En mongol, ils sont invariables: on peut donc les considérer comme des noms, avec lesquels ils s'opposent ensemble aux verbes (variables). En japonais, il existe une classe d'adjectifs invariables (la plupart: des mots d'origine chinoise, donc des noms en réalité). Pour le reste, en japonais, comme en coréen et en chinois, les adjectifs sont de véritables verbes d'état, et ont toute les propriétés des verbes sauf qu'ils n'ont pas d'impératifs (ni d'infinitifs dans certains cas). En japonais, les adjectifs-prédicables ont une flexion spéciale pour le gérondif. En tagalog, les adjectifs sont pour la plupart formés en préfixant *ma-* (provenant du verbe *may* 'y avoir') à un nom.

9. Temps. Dans les langues considérées, les systèmes temporels sont généralement associés à des systèmes aspectuels. Pour les temps du passé, nous sommes loin de la richesse des langues chinook (Sapir, repris par Benveniste 1974, 75),⁴ qui ont trois passés: indéfini (*ni-*), très reculé, mythique (*ga-*), tout récent (*na-*).

Néanmoins, le vietnamien, oppose un passé récent à un non-récent, et de même un futur proche à un futur plus lointain.⁵ On peut esquisser une typologie des formes employées pour exprimer le futur:

infinitif + "habeo": italien, français (Benveniste 1974, 131)

"vouloir": grec moderne *tha*; anglais *will*; chinois mandarin *yào*; malais *akan*; berbère *iri(t)*

"mordre, saisir": hongrois *fogok*

"devenir": allemand *verde*

En japonais, birman, tagalog, il n'y a pas vraiment de futur, mais plutôt un aspect présomptif, ou d'envisagement (contemplated form).

³ E. Benveniste, Problèmes de linguistique générale vol. 1. Paris 1966.

⁴ Benveniste, E. *ibid.* vol 2. 1974.

⁵

vietnamien	passé	futur
proche	<i>vìra</i>	<i>sắp</i>
non-proche	<i>đã</i>	<i>sẽ</i>

10. Résultatifs. En chinois mandarin comme en thai, les résultatifs sont bien connus: mandarin *kàn* 'regarder', *jiàn* 'percevoir': le résultatif des perceptions; *kànjian* 'voir'; *tīng* 'écouter', *tīngjian* 'entendre'; en siamois, le verbe *dāj* 'obtenir', joue souvent le rôle de résultatif: *faŋ dāj* 'entendre'.

Des constructions semblables peuvent être trouvées en allemand, et même en français: *er trinkt sein Glas leer* 'il boit son verre de façon à le vider' '... jusqu'à ce qu'il soit vide'; au début de la "Vie d'un vaurien" *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, on trouve ici: *Du Taugenichts! da sonnst du dich schon wieder, und dehnst und reckst dir die Knochen müde*: 'Vaurien! te voilà encore à te prélasser au soleil, tu t'allonges et d'étires à te rompre les os' (littéralement: 'tu tends des os au point de te fatiguer'). J'ai entendu un Ouessantin dire ceci: 'Elle a lavé sa cuisine propre'. Il faut entendre bien sûr: 'de manière à obtenir le résultat qu'elle soit propre'. Ce type de construction semble exceptionnel en français.

11. Diathèse. Le tagalog offre un riche système de voix (jusqu'à onze, selon Schachter). Les autres langues considérées ici n'ont guère que deux diathèses, passif et causatif, en plus de l'active. Japonais, coréen, mongol, turc, forment les passifs et causatifs par infixation. Chinois, thai, vietnamien, ont des morphèmes isolés. En hongrois, le passif est à peu près inexistant (seulement au participe passé, d'emploi récent). En japonais, l'infixe *-(r)are* marque non seulement le passif, mais aussi le potentiel et le statut honorifique de celui à qui on parle ou de qui l'on parle. Cet infixe s'applique en principe à tous les verbes, qu'ils soient transitifs ou non. On ne peut donc assimiler le passif japonais au passif français.

Le vietnamien distingue entre un passif bénéfactif (de 'récompense': *đuóc*) et un passif exprimant une action subie désagréable (*bị*). Le coréen, comme le mongol *xalx*, confond les infixes de causatif et de passif.

12. Verbes en séries. En thai et vietnamien, la juxtaposition des verbes est un procédé de subordination. Les coordinations sont exprimées en japonais par des morphèmes segmentaux (exemple, le gérondif *-te*), et non par l'ordre seulement. Les constructions résultatives sont un cas particulier de verbes en séries.

Phénomènes d'ordre

13. Ordre objet-prédicat et prédicat-objet. O—P: japonais, mongol, coréen, turc, tibétain, birman, lolo; P—O: thai, mandarin, vietnamien, hongrois, tagalog parlé.

14. Ordre dans le syntagme nominal. Déterminé-déterminant: thai, vietnamien, français. Déterminant-déterminé: mandarin, japonais, anglais, coréen, mongol, hongrois. Ordre indifférent: tagalog.

L'ordre habituel dans une langue peut être modifié dans certains cas, en particulier pour exprimer l'emphase. En japonais, pour produire l'opposition défini/indéfini, dans les syntagmes avec numéraux: la suite Num. Classificateur *no* Nom a un sens défini; la suite Nom *ga* Num. Classificateur est indéfinie.

15. Ordre dans les comparaisons. Plusieurs langues d'Asie orientale (japonais, coréen, vietnamien) n'ont pas la catégorie du 'moins'. Le malais la possède. Dans les langues qui l'ignorent, les comparaisons d'inégalité sont toujours orientées dans un sens unique: c'est l'ordre qui porte la valeur 'plus', tandis que généralement la particule indiquant la comparaison est neutre.

En mandarin:

tā bǐ wǒ gāo
il (par rapport à) moi est grand
'il est plus grand que moi'

en japonais:

kare ga boku yori takai
il sujet je (plus que) est grand
'il est plus grand que moi'

En coréen, le terme de comparaison vient en tête:

na pota ka ka khata
je voir il sujet est grand
'il est plus grand que moi'

16. Ordre dans les syntagmes adverbiaux. En japonais, les adverbes se placent selon la règle générale déterminant-déterminé, mais les adverbes et syntagmes de quantité se placent après le nom déterminé. Dans les autres langues de l'aire considérée, les adverbes précèdent le verbe.

17. Énoncé minimum. En thai, vietnamien, japonais, coréen, chinois, le prédicat à lui seul peut constituer l'énoncé minimum déclaratif ou interrogatif. Le prédicat, dans ces langues, peut être le verbe statif, ou de qualité (traduit en français par une copule plus adjectif).

L'impératif, en chinois et tagalog, s'accompagne nécessairement du sujet. C'est un trait, semble-t-il, assez rare, parmi les langues d'Asie et d'Europe.

18. Sujet et objet. En thai, vietnamien, français, c'est l'ordre qui exprime les fonctions sujet et objet. En japonais et coréen, ces fonctions sont marquées par des particules enclitiques (japonais: *ga/et o*; coréen: *ka/i* et *ləl/əl*.) Ces marques peuvent disparaître quand le sujet ou l'objet sont thématiques, en japonais et en coréen, respectivement, par les particules *wa* et *ən/nən*. En japonais, les formes *mo* 'aussi', et *sae* 'même', peuvent aussi effacer les indices de cas sujet ou objet, et parfois même la marque d'objet indirect *ni*.

19. Locatifs. On peut noter des critères de choix atypiques: vide/non vide; extérieur/intérieur. En coréen, il existe deux "dans", selon que le lieu concerné est vide (emploi de *an e*) ou non-vide (postposition *sok e*). En japonais, le mot 'coin' (angle) se rend différemment selon qu'il est vu de l'extérieur (on emploie alors *kado*) ou de l'intérieur (emploi de *sumi*, qui sert aussi à désigner les coins de petits objets, comme une enveloppe à lettres, qui est vu évidemment de l'extérieur).

20. Conjonctions. Le japonais distingue entre coordinations de noms (*to* pour une liste exhaustive/*ya* pour une énumération non-exhaustive), et coordination de verbes (*-te* ou *zéro/i*); cette distinction semble atypique.

21. Marques de politesse. En japonais et coréen, la politesse s'exprime principalement par l'infixation et suffixation verbale. En siamois, chaque énoncé est obligatoirement terminé par une particule masculine (*khṛáb*) ou féminine (*khāʔ*) selon le sexe du locuteur. Le vietnamien a des particules initiales et finales exprimant la déférence. Le tagalog a une particule polie (*pó*) se plaçant en général après le second mot de la phrase.

22. Infinitifs. A l'exception du tagalog, les langues d'Asie orientale ne connaissent pas en général de formes spéciales pour l'infinitif. La forme *Ø/i* du japonais, outre son emploi coordinatif verbal, peut s'employer comme un infinitif (pour faire un nom). La neutralisation de la première personne par l'infinitif en français (*je veux venir*), ou des deuxièmes et troisièmes personnes (*tu dis venir*, *il hésite à dire*) ne se retrouve pas, telle quelle. Le tagalog n'exige pas la coréférence pour faire l'effacement du sujet du modal. Signalons pour mémoire que dans les Balkans, l'infinitif n'est pas usité après un modal: par exemple, en grec moderne, on dit *theló na pó* 'je veux que je dise', comme cela s'observe aussi dans le langage d'enfants français commençant à parler.

23. «Réfléchis». Le système des réfléchis n'est pas dépourvu d'ambiguïtés, en siamois et en japonais. En siamois, la forme *ton* renvoie à un actant variable, souvent à celui qui est le héros de l'histoire. En japonais, *jibun* 'soi-même' n'est pas plus précis, faute de flexion d'après la personne. Autrement dit, ces

formes, comme le tagalog *sarili* ne sont pas à proprement parler des réfléchis, mais plutôt des logophoriques, terme plus général, et plus approprié (cf. l'article d'Hagège dans le BSL 1974). En japonais, on a cette ambiguïté (Nakau 1973, 242):⁶

boku wa tarô ni jibun no nikki o yomaseta
 'j'ai fait lire à Tarô mon son journal intime'
 je thème Tarô à?
 'de j. intime acc. lire-causatif-passé'

24. Ambiguïtés d'anaphore. Soit la phrase française *la femme du marchand à qui j'ai vendu du poulet est morte*: on ignore au juste si le poulet a été vendu à la femme ou au marchand. Il semble que si une légère pause intervient après *marchand* (virgule), ce serait à *femme* que se rapporte *vendu*. Ce genre d'ambiguïté se retrouve en siamois, japonais, mais pas en coréen. En français, l'emploi d'un autre relatif (*auquel, à laquelle*) permet de lever l'ambiguïté; mais en japonais ou en coréen, cela ne serait pas possible, faute de genre grammatical.

25. Temps et relatives. Le coréen associe étroitement le relateur et le temps: il existe des relatifs au présent, passé, imparfait, plus-que-parfait, et futur. C'est un trait atypique en Asie orientale, mais il se retrouve en latin, avec les temps du participe (présent passé), répartis en fonction de la voix verbale (actif passif).

26. Emphase. Dans les langues d'Asie orientale, l'emphase s'exprime souvent en nominalisant la partie de la phrase qui n'est pas emphatisée, et en déplaçant en tête de phrase le nom emphatisé.⁷

27. Expression de la nécessité. On distingue quatre types:

Type 1: morphèmes libres: siamois *tɔŋ, khuan;*

vietnamien *phải;*

japonais *beki;*

chinois mandarin *yǐng dang*

Type 2: infixe: coréen *-ya*

Type 3: à partir de l'idée de manque: français *falloir*; arabe *la budda* 'neg. manque'

Type 4: double négation + modalité: mandarin, japonais, coréen, mongol, français

⁶ Nakau, Sentential complementation in Japanese. Tokyo 1973.

⁷ M. Coyaud, Les modes d'expression de l'emphase dans diverses langues (communication de l'onzième congrès de la Societas linguistica europea, Paris, 20 septembre 1978). In: K. Paris (ed.), Prédicats et actants. Paris, SELAF 1979.

Formation du genre: 'tu ne peux pas ne pas . . .' nécessité très forte en français et chinois mais ordinaire dans les autres langues citées. Exemples:

mandarin:	<i>fěi</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>kě</i>	'il faut absolument'	
	neg	neg	pouvoir		
	<i>tā</i>	<i>fěi</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>lái</i> 'il doit venir'
japonais:	<i>nake-</i>	<i>reba-</i>	<i>nara-</i>	<i>nai</i>	'il faut'
	neg.	si	être	neg.	
mongol:	<i>xuleex-</i>	<i>guy</i>	<i>bolox-</i>	<i>guy</i>	'il faut attendre'
	attendre	neg.	être	neg.	
coréen:	<i>anh . . .</i>	<i>myon</i>	<i>anh</i>	<i>tuenta</i>	'il faut'
	neg.	si	neg.	être	

Le mongol *bolox* correspond pour l'emploi au japonais *naru* (dans *naranai*) et au coréen *tuenta*.

28. Discours indirect. En latin, le verbe à l'infinitif et le sujet à l'accusatif indiquent le discours indirect; en mongol *xalx*, le sujet est également à l'accusatif:

<i>namayg</i>	<i>teneg</i>	<i>geř xel-sen</i>	'il dit que je suis stupide' (<i>namayg</i>	
me	stupidum	dixit	'me, moi', acc.)	
(dixit me stupidum esse)				

En *xalx*, le discours direct est rarissime dans les cas de paroles rapportées:

či teneg geř xel-sen 'il dit(que)tu est stupide' est possible mais peu employé; *geř* équivaut exactement à *to* japonais, *rako* coréen, *raw/daw* tagalog: cela veut dire: 'fermez les guillemets'; *ci* 'tu' (cas sujet).

REFLECTIONS ON PHONOLOGICAL TYPOLOGY

By

W. U. DRESSLER

(Wien)

1. Introduction

Since I am the only member of the Working Group to speak on phonological problems, it might be felt to be my duty to survey the whole field of phonological typology, especially in view of the splendid tradition of research on phonological universals. However, such a survey would demand a large monograph unsuitable for this occasion.

Therefore I have chosen to present my own proposals for typological work on phonology (thus superseding the insufficient horizons of my previous contribution on the same subject in Dressler 1974). In this choice I have been confirmed by the surprising degree of correspondence between my own standpoint and H. Seiler's (1979) introductory paper, although he has deliberately omitted any consideration of phonological typology.

Some of the most basic convergences are: I perfectly agree with H. Seiler on the intimate relation of typology and language universals, and that a language universal is not co-terminous with "a structural property of all languages" (Seiler 1979, 3 § 3.1.2), but is rather a latent invariable of human language.

Thus typology should be orientated "toward a theory of language, not toward a theory of grammar" (Seiler 1978b, 14 objective 6).

I also fully agree with Seiler's (1979) "functional approach, the idea of purposiveness in language" (Seiler 1978b, 14 objective 1) which corresponds, in my approach (§ 2) to the idea that linguistic phenomena are based on semiotic functions of language and its components. Such functions are the foundations of (latent or overt) universal tendencies and processes (§ 2), which, according to their order in the hierarchy of tendencies, correspond to Seiler's (1979) dimensions, principles, or techniques.

Before going into any details of my approach, I must cite Seiler's (1979, 9 § 3.1.3) claim that his "program can also be understood as a model for language communication". This corresponds to the property of psychological reality claimed by Natural Phonology (Stampe 1969) and Polycentristic Phonology (Dressler 1977b) for their models, a property related to a property of great relevance for typology, i.e. naturalness (Dressler, 1979; 1980b).

2. Natural and Polycentristic Phonology

Natural Phonology,¹ as advocated by D. Stampe (1969), studies universal natural phonological processes which are "mental substitutions which systematically but subconsciously adapt our phonological intentions to our capacities, and which, conversely, enable us to perceive in others' speech the intentions underlying these superficial phonetic adaptations" (Donegan-Stampe, 1979 § 1). "This is a natural theory . . . in that it represents . . . the phonological aspects of language as a natural reflection of the needs, capacities, and world of its users". Here we have a correspondence with H. Seiler's (1968b 1969) concept of dimensions and operations (cp. van den Boom 1978) of problem solving in language; i.e. universals of phonology should be considered as dimensions and operations of solving the problems posed by the (maturing) organs of articulation and perception rather than the results of these operations, which might be universal, general, rare or only possible results never actually observed so far.

As to the phonology of specific languages, D. Stampe and his followers rigorously distinguish live (natural) processes which are the reflections of universal natural processes as restricted by the child when acquiring his respective first language, and dead (phonological) rules which must be learned by the child and which are motivated by convention only. E.g. /elektrik +iti/, the input of the velar softening rule (a dead rule) which produces the output *electricity*, is pronounceable for a native speaker of English whereas *[kænt] is unpronounceable for a native speaker of most dialects of English, since vowel nasalization (producing [kænt] is a natural process of English.

Polycentristic Phonology, as put forward by Dressler (1977b), is a process² phonology derived from Natural Phonology. But it is part of a general polycentristic approach to language (see, e.g. Dressler 1977c) which studies universal tendencies in all components of language, which are considered to be basically autonomous,³ such as segmental phonology, prosodic phonology, inflectional morphology, derivational morphology, etc. Since the functions of different components and subcomponents of language are different, their universal tendencies generally can be fulfilled only partially. Thus, e.g. morphonological processes such as Stampe's dead rules can be characterized as being the result of the interaction of phonological and morphological tendencies; therefore they are phonologically less natural than true (live) phonological processes, though this difference is gradual (Dressler 1977b).

¹ Surveyed by Sommerstein 1977, 233–237.

² Note the correspondence with Seiler's (1979, 2f § 3. 1.1.) insistence on the process character of language.

³ Hence the terms Polycentristic Theory, Polycentristic Phonology, etc.

3. Inductive and deductive typology

Work in the typology of process phonology is usually inductive (e.g. Aoki 1968; Bhat 1973, 1974; Chen 1974; Daly-Martin 1972; Dressler 1974; Ferguson 1978; Giacalone—Ramat 1968; Hock 1975; Hutcheson 1973; Johnson 1973; Klimov—Edel'man 1977; Mayerthaler 1975; Neeld 1973; Schourup 1972, 1973; Serebrennikov 1973; Ultan 1971).

The usual method of research is the sampling of similar phonological processes in different languages, the enumeration of frequent, general or exceptionless properties, of their clustering, of probable hierarchies and implications, and attempts at explanation by reference to phonetic data (articulation, acoustics, or perception).⁴ Of course, this research, in general, is not totally inductive, since the phonological theory explicitly or implicitly espoused by the investigator limits and directs his research.

Much less frequent are deductive process phonological typologies, although they are of primary importance, if typology should be based on language universals research (§ 1, Seiler 1979, § 3.1.1, p. 13, 16; Ramat 1978). Already E. Sievers (1893, 249 ff) was moving from an inductive to a deductive typology of sound changes when he gave an impressive "Klassifikation durch Vergleich von Anfangs- und Endpunkt der betreffenden Wechsel", i.e. of input, output and structural change of the respective processes. The classification of P. Reimold (1974) is already deductive being based on physiologically defined features and their possible changes. H. Andersen's (1972) classification of polarizing processes is derived from an initial hypothesis on which phenomena are comprised in an enlarged concept of diphthongization. The typology of S. Schane (1972) is functionally based: assimilation, syllable structure optimization, strengthening and weakening (see the critical summary in Sommerstein 1977, 227—233), however, there is no interconnection between these four types of processes.

On the contrary, typological work done within the framework of Natural Phonology (Stampe 1972; Miller 1972, 1973a, b) is firmly embedded in the hypotheses on the functions of phonology (see § 2). P. Donegan-Miller (1973b) first introduced the dichotomy of syntagmatic (context sensitive) and paradigmatic (context free) processes and their identification with weakening and strengthening processes as the antagonistic fundamental process types comprising all phonological processes, which can be considered as the different techniques of solving problems of articulation and perception respectively (cp. Donegan 1976). In Dressler (1975) and more clearly in Dressler—Drachman (1977) and Dressler (1978; 1980b), I have modified this basic dichotomy (which goes back to the old concept of ease of articulation vs. expressive-

⁴ Unfortunately, several conflicting phonetic explanations are at hand.

ness), named and characterized the two most basic types as obscuration (*Entdeutlichungsprozesse*) and clarification processes (*Verdeutlichungsprozesse*) respectively, and outlined (and exemplified) their deductive ramifications into single process types such as vowel centralization, palatalization, nasalization etc.

Here two remarks are warranted: first, future research should combine deductive and inductive typological investigation (cp. Seiler 1979, 13, 16, note 2). The question which aspect is more important resembles the old question of "which came first: the chicken or the egg?". Work should rather proceed in an endless spiral: deductive hypotheses should be elaborated about which processes (\approx Seiler's techniques) may solve articulatory and perceptual problems; here certain psychological principles and the linguistic and social structures of the respective languages come in as intervening variables. Then vast inductive research should be undertaken to check these deductive hypotheses, which will inevitably lead to their modification or replacement. Deductive research is easier in phonology than in grammar, since we simply know more about the phonologies of the languages of the world than about their grammars; on the other hand less deductive typology has been done in phonology than in grammar.

The second problem is the relevance for phonological typology. For, so far, I have only mentioned the typology (or rather microtypology) of universal processes, but not of languages (i.e. their phonologies). Although I agree with Seiler (1979, 18) that "the main goal does not consist in a classification of languages", the typology of languages, be it classificatory, serial (ordering), gradual or quantitative is an essential part of typology. Therefore, in the following sections, I am going to sketch the various types of phonological typologies that my model suggests.⁵

4. Roles of segmental phonology in languages

All languages have a segmental phonology, but it seems very difficult to say which languages have richer phonologies than others. For example, for no language, to my knowledge, has a complete list of "prelexical processes" been given, that is of the processes that (according to Stampe's Natural Phonology) generate the underlying phonemic system (e.g. neutralize all possible vowels into the vowels that form the underlying vowel system of the language)

⁵ Since many aspects of the typologies I am going to enumerate have almost never been dealt with in any detail, and since writing a complete phonology of a language, as I understand it, takes a long time, I am unable to give more than general perspectives for many aspects of the following paragraphs. As a matter of convenience I will concentrate on segmental phonology.

and govern the possible concatenation of phonemes. Moreover, the latent status of many universal natural processes renders the enumeration of prelexical processes very risky. For example, who would think of attributing a process of final devoicing of obstruents to an open-syllable language? Yet, if speakers of such a language try to pronounce English or French words with final voiced obstruents, they devoice them, i.e. they apply the natural process of final devoicing.

Thus whole-system typologies (Voegelin 1956) of segmental phonologies are impossible at the moment. However whole-system typologies of prosodical phonologies (with the criteria of pitch, position of accent, types of syllables allowed, rhythm and quantity) have been dealt with for a long time (see e.g. Garde 1969).

As to the interaction of prosodic and segmental phonology, Stampe's claim that the segmental phonology of a language can be largely predicted from its prosodic phonology has not so far been substantiated to any great extent (see Donegan—Stampe, 1979; 1980; to appear).

However, at least one kind of subsystem typology (Voegelin 1956) seems feasible, namely typologies of the processes that transform the underlying phonological representation into the phonetic representation, which corresponds, at least in principle, to the phonological rules (henceforth PRs) of generative phonology. A quantitative typology can order languages according to the number of PRs their phonologies possess. The quantity of PRs depends on the type of inflectional and derivational morphology of the language (see § 5) and on the number and distribution of underlying phonemes: if the phonological space (Moulton 1960) is occupied by few phonemes and/or by phonemes in an "unsymmetrical" distribution, then we can expect a considerable number of PRs and vice versa (Dressler 1977b, 15 ff).

The young child, when learning a language, not only limits or suppresses natural processes, but also splits them into either prelexical processes or "post-lexical" PRs. Thus we might suspect the existence of a compensatory principle which counterbalances the number of prelexical and postlexical processes.

However, if the child assigns most natural processes to the subsystem of prelexical context-free processes, then the number of phonemes will be small and the phonological system may need many allophonic PRs in order to cover the "allophonic" space, as it happens in Rotokas (Firchow—Firchow 1969) and in some Oceanic languages. West Caucasian languages have many prelexical vocalic, but few consonantal, processes and therefore many consonant phonemes, but only 2 or 3 vowel phonemes; therefore there are many postlexical vocalic PRs, but few consonantal ones. On the other hand a high number of context-sensitive prelexical processes (= morpheme structure conditions) usually also restricts the number of allophonic PRs, since "deep-surface canonical disparities" (Hale 1973) are unstable and rare.

Subsystem typologies of the articulation base and of the block of fast speech rules cannot surpass the level of contrastive studies, unless more detailed studies on many more languages are available.

5. Interaction of phonology and morphology

Since syntax and morphology are components which permanently interact one with another, there exist many typological connections between these components. Interactions between segmental phonology and syntax etc. are much rarer, so that the search for typological connections between phonological and non-phonological criteria has not met with much success (but cp. § 8, 10).

However, there is the area of so-called morphophonology, where morphological and phonological processes and tendencies interact both in synchrony and diachrony (Dressler 1977a, b). And here we find a clear typological relation. The more a language is fusional (Sapir 1921), the more PRs are needed to serve morphological fusion. This is an instance where tendencies/processes of different components "do not preclude one another" (Seiler 1979, 7), but where phonological tendencies/processes are subordinated to morphological ones. Therefore we can predict the amount of morphophonological PRs (i.e. of PRs, which are less natural phonological processes) from the amount of morphological fusion (cp. Skalička 1966).

Isolating languages (cp. § 8) lack such PRs.⁶ Since agglutinative languages too have a rich morphology, we would expect that they too would have typical (morphophonological) PRs of their own; these are typically vowel harmony rules (Lehmann 1973; Aoki 1968; Hyman 1975, 233 ff) which co-signal agglutination within the word (this function explains why affix harmony is often more regular than root harmony).

But notice that the primary morphological functions of both types of PRs are quite different: whereas PRs like umlaut and other (mostly anticipatory) assimilations and fusion processes etc. co-signal the phonological make-up and/or the morphological class of the grammatical morphemes (Dressler 1977b), the primary morphological function of affix vowel harmony is delimitative or rather cumulative in the sense of N. S. Trubetzkoy. On consequences for the phonemic system see § 8. The perception of morphemes remains easy despite vowel harmony, since in agglutinative languages morpheme and syllable boundaries typically fall together (Skalička 1966) whereas differences between morpheme and syllable boundaries pose problems for easy morpheme perception. Morphophonological PRs of the first class are type incongruent in agglutinating languages (Skalička 1967).

⁶ Since in generative phonology PRs which appear in morphological alternations are the most important ones, isolating languages may seem particularly devoid of phonology in the eyes of adherents of classical generative phonology.

A third class of (morphological) PRs must be mentioned: morphologized morpheme structure constraints (Dressler 1977b). In our model morpheme structure constraints are (generally syntagmatic) prelexical processes which can be as truly phonological as any other ("normal") phonological processes. However, if they are contradicted by "normal" PRs in such a way that types of output produced by them are valid only within morpheme boundaries, then one step is made in the direction of morphologization: they have become sensitive to morpheme boundaries (a non-phonological category), and boundaries may differ according to the morphemes they delimit. They can become subservient to morphological functions and processes: if a linguistic type differentiates word classes and morpheme classes (Skalička 1966), then a very efficient technique is using different morpheme classes (i.e. lexical vs. grammatical morphemes, verbal vs. nominal morphemes etc.).

In morphonology prosody is often tied in as another component: 1) If either inflectional morphology (e.g. in Russian) or derivational morphology (e.g. in English) is served by prosodic rules of stress shift, then typically either new PRs emerge or old PRs are put to new uses, or both. — 2) Another example is open syllable languages. As Donegan—Stampe (1980) have remarked, the prosodic goal of syllabic openness may be guaranteed by conspiracies of phonological processes of various types. But this, I submit, is to be expected only in the case of the involvement of morphological fusion: in this case (e.g. Old Church Slavonic) postlexical PRs serving morphological rules are needed besides prelexical processes.

6. Choice of universal processes

Languages can be characterized by the universal processes that they retain as PRs. As important as such choices may be for areal typology, they seem to be unimportant for general typology (in spite of § 7), unless links between choices can be found. The organizing principle would be the basis of articulation (Drachman 1974; James 1977), which is not yet a possible typological criterion (§ 4). Inductive research so far has often resulted in false generalizations: E.g. Donegan—Stampe (to appear) have claimed that vowel harmony and vowel reduction typically do not co-occur; but this is not true for Chinalug and Eastern Cheremiss, and Hungarian has obscuration processes in fast speech which also obscure vowel harmony.

On the other hand, the view of Natural Phonology (Donegan—Stampe, 1979) seems correct, that strictly antagonistic processes exclude one another in the same set of processes, so that context-free processes have the status of prelexical processes, antagonistic context-sensitive ones of postlexical PRs: e.g. English has prelexical vowel denasalization (and therefore no nasal

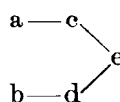
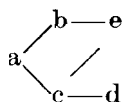
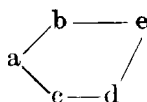
vowel phonemes) and postlexical vowel nasalization. West Caucasian and a few African and Oceanic languages have prelexical centripetal vocalic processes that produce their vertical phoneme systems (e.g. /a/ /e/), but postlexical centrifugal PRs which produce peripheral vowel allophones; whereas most other languages are characterized by the opposite distribution: no or few central phonemes, but (e.g. in fast speech) vowel centralizing PRs (Dressler 1975). Generally, clarification processes are prelexical, whereas postlexical PRs (with the exception of superlento processes) are obscuration processes.

7. Typologies of single processes

In § 3 I have already mentioned inductive general typologies of single processes where language specific restrictions of universal processes are studied. The aims of these studies belong to the fields of universal grammar and general typology. But contrastive typological studies of single processes have also been published (e.g. Ferguson 1978; Herok—Tonelli 1977). And as to the Prague concept of linguistic “characterology” (since Mathesius 1928), I postulate that any serious and detailed description of a process in a single language must confront the typological characteristics of the corresponding universal process. Therefore I can wholeheartedly subscribe to Seiler’s (1979, 18 § 3.3) claim that “Grammar writing derives its program from the combination of the programs for L(anguage) U(niversals) R(eseach) and (L)anguage T(ypology)”⁷

An important purpose of the inductive studies (cited in § 3) has been to establish implicational relations and hierarchies (cp. Seiler 1979, 5f, 17). However, different hierarchies have been found in different languages (Drachman 1977), which seems to vitiate the whole Stampean concept of a Universal Natural Process. A technical solution for this problem has been proposed in the frame-work of Atomic Phonology (Dinnsen—Eckman 1977a, b). However, typology may provide two other answers:

1) Implicational hierarchies, as they are generally put forward in phonology, correspond to unilinear ordering (serial) typologies of the schema a—b—c—d—e, where stages (a through e) imply one another unidirectionally. But already more than 40 years ago C. Hempel and P. Oppenheim (1936) showed that ordering typologies need not be unilinear, but may be branching, e.g. of the schemas



⁷ Cp. Seiler 1978b, 13, 21; 1979, 4 § 3.1.2. The distinction of general typology, contrastive typology and characterizing typology (of a single language) goes back to V. Mathesius, cp. Ellis (1966).

As an example I have proposed such a branching schema for the well-known sonority hierarchy (Dressler, 1980b). Possible branchings of language specific processes within the hierarchy of a universal process are formally restricted within Atomic Phonology (Dinnsen—Eckman 1977a, b).

2) This technical solution is complemented by a functional solution. From Seiler's (1979; 1978b, 21f) and Holenstein's (1978) lucid reflections on language functions it becomes clear that the same functions can be served by different techniques in different languages, and that the choice of technique is an eminent typological criterion (cp. § 6). Applying this to phonology we can say that the prosodic function of backgrounding unstressed vowels can be served by several obscuration processes: shortening, centralization, raising, or desonorization of vowels (Dressler 1974). Now the same seems to be true for the specific function of each universal process: language specific hierarchies may differ according to structural differences between languages, some of them being determined by the respective basis of articulation (Drachman 1974).

3) In Seiler's (1979) scale universal hierarchies belong to his *observables*₂, language specific hierarchies to his *observables*₁; so far the Cologne group does not seem to have decided whether language specific hierarchies should be identical with or as upset of universal hierarchies (as postulated in NatPhon).

8. Typologies of representations

So far I only discussed process typologies. Structural typologies (cp. Jacquois [1974, 62ff] Šurinskaja 1975, 448) of phonemic systems (see Ruhlen 1976) or oppositions (Jakobson 1936; Melikischwili 1970 with lit.; Hagège—Haudricourt 1978, 171ff) can be incorporated into our model as typologies of (the output of) processes. It has proved to be impossible to predict the typologically most probable vowel phoneme systems (Trubetzkoy 1929; Sedlak 1969; Crothers 1978) from perceptual space (Liljencrants—Lindblom 1972), although phonemes are considered as primarily perceptual entities. The attempts (Miller 1972; 1973a; Donegan 1976) to predict them by means of prelexical context-free processes of colouring seem to offer a viable alternative. The same holds true for consonant systems (Gamkrelidze 1978); Jakobson's implicational laws have been substituted by Stampe (1973) within his process model. J. Greenberg's (1965) cluster hierarchies can be understood as the result of prelexical context-sensitive processes. Or Ruhlen (1978) investigates universal phonological processes that lead to natural synchronic systems of nasal vowels.

As an example of how typological generalizations about inventories can be deduced from generalizations about processes, let us take Saporta's (1963,

68) hypothesis: "In languages with phonemic stress, the number of phonemic contrasts in stressed syllables will be greater than or equal to the number of phonemic contrasts in unstressed syllables". Now in languages "with phonemic stress" (\approx stress-timed languages) synchronic obscuration processes are maximized in unstressed syllables (and syllable-finally), clarification processes are maximized in stressed syllables (and word-initially), thus allowing more sounds in stressed than in unstressed syllables. Of course, this may have more of an allophonic than a phonemic impact. But if the language has been a stress-timed language for some time, then the antagonistic action of obscuration and clarification processes may have brought about some rephonemization. Both process types are used as techniques for the prosodic purpose of establishing rhythm in speech, since they are very effective techniques for backgrounding and foregrounding. Whereas typological findings of the kinds mentioned can be translated into a process model quite easily, this is not the case with the finding (Hockett 1968, 93; Haguère—Haudricourt 1978, 67; Serebrennikov 1979) that there is an inverse relationship between the number of phonemes in a language and the average length of its morphemes. Here we have to add a diachronic perspective: if prelexical context-free processes are so numerous that only a few phonemes are not neutralized, then obscuration processes (which reduce morphemes) are not allowed to generalize from casual/fast speech styles into formal (slow) speech styles in order to guarantee easy perception of morphemes in formal speech. Moreover, the shrinking of a phonemic system has repercussions in the morphological components, where longer morphemes have to be created, if necessary.

On the other hand, isolating languages, where morpheme perception is facilitated by the equivalence of morphemes with words, may allow themselves small phonemic systems, whereas polysynthetic languages may not. That is, polysynthetic languages have many morphemes within a word; there is a perceptual restriction on the length of words; therefore morphemes in polysynthetic languages must be short (whereas they are comparatively long in isolating languages; in agglutinating languages perception of long words may be eased by vowel harmony, cp. § 5).

In order to differentiate many short morphemes, many phonemes are needed. Since consonants generally (at least, in polysynthetic, agglutinating and introflexional languages) seem more effective for signalling short morphemes, the consonant-vowel ratio of polysynthetic languages is generally high (cp. the tabulations in Hockett 1968, 95 and Lehfeldt 1975). Thus the needs of communication enforce the interaction of phonology and morphology (cp. § 5) and restrict the applicability of universal phonological processes (producing both input and output representations).

Very little typological work has been done on allophones and the structure of allophonic space (Dressler 1977b, 15f). Here the concept of the preferred

output of processes as "focal instances" (Seiler 1979, 8 ; 1978b, 17) and their conditions are important for typology (cp. Bell 1970 ; Herbert 1977).

One type of typological endeavour has so far aroused very little interest among process phonologists : quantitative studies of phoneme distributions as types or tokens (see Isačenko 1940 ; Altmann—Lehfeldt 1973 ; Kempgen 1977 ; Job 1977 [all with literature]).

These belong either to the area of statistics of performance or to the subcomponent of morpheme structure constraints (prelexical context-sensitive processes). On the one hand, such statistical properties seem to be rather superficial ; and on the other, all process grammars are ill-fitted to deal with statistical characteristics of item-and-arrangement.

9. Typologies of domains

Generally, typology means typology of languages. But universal grammar (and phonology) also needs a general (or contrastive or characterological typology of domains such as child language, aphasia, poetical language etc. (cp. e.g. Drachman 1977 ; Dressler 1977b, 1978 ; Dressler—Drachman 1977 ; Ferguson 1978 ; Zwicky 1975).

Whereas typologies of the same domain in many languages are well-established in diachronic phonology (§ 10), other domains have been much less fortunate, with the partial exception of casual (fast) speech phonology.

Since language universals research calls for an interdisciplinary approach (Seiler 1978b, 14) and since the restriction of phonological description to the domain of the formal speech of normal adult native speakers is arbitrary, the exclusion of other domains from typology is also arbitrary and impoverishing. This self-imposed impoverishment is particularly detrimental to the research of universal tendencies, functions, dimensions, and techniques, since the balance between conflicting universal tendencies etc. is different in different domains (Dressler 1977b) : for example, due to the difference in communicative functions, obscuration processes are maximized in casual/fast speech, clarification processes in hypercorrect, superlento style.

10. Diachronic phonology

There is no space left to describe studies in diachronic typology, be it of phonemic systems (e.g. Hagège—Haudricourt 1978) or in the frame-work of process phonologies (e.g. Stampe 1972 and many studies cited in § 3). I only wish to mention that diachronic typologies also have to deal with interactions of phonology and grammar (cp. § 5, 8) : e.g. word order often changes because

grammatical endings are obscured or destroyed by phonological obscuration processes, or because these obscuration processes are allowed to spread from casual speech into formal speech and thus to obscure/destroy endings, since word order rules have anyway changed (see the critical survey in Harris 1978).

11. Conclusion

This exposition is woefully incomplete. However, I hope to have demonstrated:

- 1) that many important aspects of Seiler's (1978b, 1979) program also hold for phonological typology,
- 2) that polycentristic phonology allows many proven or promising ways of typologizing phonology,
- 3) that phonological typology is not completely separate from grammatical typology.

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THE SEMANTIC AND STRUCTURAL PARAMETERS OF A LANGUAGE TYPE

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The meaning of the term "language type" has been the subject of frequent discussion in linguistic literature in recent decades. The first question to arise in this context is the relationship between form and content in language. Is "language type" a purely structural category, or is it related to the content aspects of language and their semantic parameters? Or, to put it differently: does the specific nature of a language type affect the nature of language models and the way language reflects how a human community perceives surrounding reality? It is generally acknowledged that interest in word structure and in the division of a word into separate morphological elements — morphemes — is linked with the rise of the comparative-historical method. No historical study of the structures of individual languages, no determination of genetic prototypes for groups of cognate languages, and no scientifically-orientated etymologies would have been possible without morpheme analysis, with its attention to phonetic changes and correspondences. However, the interest in the morphological structure of the word displayed by linguists in the second quarter of the 19th century has led to typological research being orientated towards singling out the structures in language which differ, in the first place, in the number of morphemes in a word and in the nature of their cohesion. In itself, any morphological device, as a marker of language type, does not reflect the essence of the type. It has long become a commonplace in linguistics that the same morphological device can be used to render a number of different grammatical meanings, in the same way, as the same content can be expressed in various ways.

The systemic approach to language phenomena enriched typological studies with new ideas as shown in the way linguists became convinced that the comparison of isolated forms in two languages is not very informative, since such a method can only help to establish that certain forms coincide, while others diverge. Most linguists have therefore arrived at the conclusion that the orientation should be towards categorial phenomena of significance in principle to the system of language. Though the way grammatical meanings are rendered in a language should be taken into account in an analysis of lan-

guage, in determining a language type applicable to any particular group of languages, one has to examine the more deep-lying forms of their categorization. In other words, it is not only formal language devices that should be taken into account but, first and foremost, the lexico-grammatical classes (the parts of speech) that serve to distinguish them, the links between them, the way subject-object and spatio-temporal relations are expressed, and the like.

It is necessary to establish a synchronic cross-section in determining the language type of both modern and ancient languages because of the specific tasks historical typology has to tackle. Typological similarity of languages should be based on their deep-lying semantically meaningful categories, which inevitably leads the linguist to the problem of language universals. If one turns to the disputes on the interrelationship and collateral subordination between language classifications (genetic, typological, etc.) (Birnbaum 1970) then one will find that Jucquois is evidently correct in pointing out that the differences in the views on the problem are the result of different methodological approaches. The object of research will be formulated in a variety of ways, depending on whether the main task of typology is seen as giving a description of linguistic systems that will lead to their classification as a result of a comparison of languages, or whether, on the contrary, classification is made the prime task of research: the choice made will condition the orientation of research (Jucquois 1975, 18).

But whatever the orientation adopted, linguistic study should take due account of the features of the structure of a language system. The question therefore arises: to what extent should the specific features of the various aspects of language (i.e. the nature of its levels structure) be taken into account in determining a language type? Should only the most-structured areas of language be chosen, such as its phonological or morphological systems, or should all levels of language be analyzed to "deduce" a language type? The latter question can be presented on the plane of posing the problem of the interdependence and interaction between different levels of language. If a language is considered a perfect system, whose individual parts correlate, then what should be sought is the single parameters which determine a given language type. No language, however, is a homogeneous entity if only because in any synchronic cross-section it contains both emergent and moribund elements, which, while fitting into the system of the language, nevertheless endow it with an inimitable flavour. The latter is particularly tangible in a comparison of strata of the same level in the structure of different languages. Which of the levels in the structure of a language can be considered the most convenient for the purpose of identifying and describing language types? In our opinion Birnbaum, in discussing the typological characteristics of languages at the phonological level, has very correctly noted the difficulty of distinguishing between typological markers and universal law-governed patterns possible

in all languages. This refers, in particular, to the filling of cells in the phonological system of a language on the basis of the observed facts of the mandatory presence of unmarked phonemes (natural in language) given the presence of marked phonemes (which may be "non-mandatory" in language). Thus the presence of rounded front vowels in a language (of the *ö*-, *ü*-type) presupposes the existence of unrounded front vowels in the same system. At the same time the presence of rounded back vowels in a language (of the *o*-, *u*-type) may be considered "natural"; being unmarked, the presence of vowels in this area may or may not be accompanied by occasional instances of unrounded back vowels (Birnbaum 1975).

Among the languages of the world, not one has been registered as possessing only nasalized vowels without the simultaneous presence of oral vowels. The vast majority of languages possess only oral vowels but there are some languages that do possess nasalized vowels along with oral vowels (French, Portuguese and Polish amongst others). What can the linguist extract from the above-mentioned facts for a typological description of any particular language? Such patterns are too general and "universal" for any convincing individualization of language types. Of course, a description of any language should contain all the features of its phonological structure whereas a typological study should rather select the more expressive indicators: data obtained on the phonological level alone are evidently insufficient. The narrowness of the purely morphological approach to languages and forms of their description has already been noted above. Assuming that it is best to proceed from the functionally significant areas of language structures, it is natural for the sentence to come to the fore as the highest part of language structure in terms of communication. With its ability to realize within its structure such important categories as the predicativeness of the action or state described, the relation between the subject and the object of an action, the category of person and so on, the sentence might seem to meet the requirement of an approach to typological units as an essential blend of indicators of form with those of content. However, linguists are not unanimous in their recognition of the status of the sentence as a unit of language. It is syntax with its intimate link with notional and logical categories that has often served as a basis for typological studies. The proposal, in the writings of I. I. Meščaninov, of syntax as the point of departure for studies of language types and their classification stemmed from his striving to penetrate into the content aspect of language. On the whole, this has followed the direction set by the problem of the relation between language and mind which has always attracted the attention of Soviet linguists. On the historical plane many transformations in morphology have actually begun with the use of various morphological forms within the framework of syntactical structures. The content of morphological paradigms is revealed either when they become opposed within a confined morphological system or

when individual forms of a given morphological set are used in the syntactical structures of the same order.

Even if we find it convenient, from the viewpoint of methods, to describe a language type in terms of the most rigorous and formalized patterns to be found in grammar, it cannot be ignored that even so "loose" an area of language as vocabulary is, in some of its areas, linked with the grammatical structure of language, and cannot be excluded from a definition of language types. Certain lexico-semantic structural groups do have a connection with grammatical patterns, and are even able to influence them. Present-day linguistics has approached closest to this problem in its analysis of the link between lexical sub-groups of verbs and certain syntactical patterns. It is not only grammatical notions such as the verb's transitivity or intransitivity, but also semantic groups such as verbs of speech, sensual perception and that like that are immediately linked, in many languages, with the choice of various grammatical patterns. On this point I. I. Meščaninov wrote: "In its semantics, the verb, at a definite period of the development of speech, pertains to a certain group used only in a definite sentence structure . . . this results in a variety in the structure of sentences in a given language, this variety following definite rules" (Meščaninov 1975, 213).

We have already noted in connection with another problem that syntax, which possesses numerous patterns, nevertheless has a very limited number of devices to convey syntactical relations (Yartseva 1968, 44). Besides, if sentence patterns are considered a category of language (and not of parole, as is held by many linguists), then their distribution in the languages of the world does not always reveal sufficient variety for them to serve as typical markers of classes of languages belonging to the same language type. In principle, languages can be distinguished according to any particular feature; so the binary pattern is often simple and highly expressive. Several typological classifications of languages are possible on the basis of one feature or another in language structure as has already been shown in the history of linguistics. However, the task consists in making the best choice among all possible classifications. It is evidently insufficient to take some particular language level as a basis for typological definitions; it is more advisable to seek those interconnected and inter-level phenomena in which the specific features of various level markers can be displayed.

The link between different levels of language has a direct bearing on the methods used to distinguish language types, as the question arises whether a feature characteristic of one level of a given language can be reflected in the structure of some other level of the same language. We shall note that such a reflection presupposes distinct intersystem links for each level. The expression of closely related meanings by means of different levels is another aspect of the influence exerted by the "theory of levels" on the establishment of language

types. The difficulty of the problem lies in the fact that every level of a language system possesses a set of different devices or forms to express meanings. Which of these devices are irrelevant to meanings in language, and which signal that such meanings possess another quality? Or, perhaps none of the devices for the expression of grammatical categories are used indiscriminately in language but are, in every instance, indicative of some new modulation of language meaning. Acceptance of the second point of view contains the danger of the diversity of the world's languages being seen as overwhelming; that would not only preclude any classification of languages but also make any comparative description impossible. It would seem correct to accept the former of the two hypotheses mentioned above, given a differentiated approach to the set of formal devices for each language level.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that problems of typology are being worked on in present-day linguistics in connection with the theory of language universals, a theory which deals with the task of distinguishing language types primarily according to the hierarchy of universals. If we assume that certain universals are interdependent, then, in determining a language type, it would clearly be convenient to take a certain set of "key" universals implying the existence of others related to them. In defining the universals the linguist analyses, he most often takes some notion that is of necessity reflected in language and then examines the means used in different languages of the world to render it in their grammatical or lexico-grammatical systems. The notions of possession, time, spatial relations, and the category of number have often served as the objects for such research, whose usefulness is undeniable. The demonstration of concrete material culled from scores or even hundreds of languages on the basis of definite principles of selection and generalization is of itself of value to science.

However, note should be taken of two dangers which arise when the above-mentioned method is used to seek out language universals. One is the danger of seeking something given in advance, and hence the inevitable striving to find what is being sought, without taking due account of all the actual circumstances of the existence and functioning of a given language. The outcome is that the work done often boils down to a mere demonstration and enumeration of the means and formal devices by means of which the notion sought finds expression in a given language. Thus, it may so happen that instead of ascertaining the deep-lying content-related features of a particular universal with its wealth of multilateral links with the specific typological characteristics of a number of languages, we end up with an impoverished and schematic outline of a category that is "convenient" only because it is abstract and is therefore applicable to any language. The second serious danger consists in the isolation of a lexical or a grammatical phenomenon and its appraisal outside of its links in the system of contiguous categorial meanings.

When a linguist considers how the notion of futurity is conveyed in language, proceeds from the assumption that there must exist in language some form of expression of such a universal category, and registers all the possible means of its expression in a given language, he is unable to take into account that, in every individual case, the links of that categorial meaning can enter into various combinations with other categories. Of course, the isolation of some phenomenon to facilitate its study is a frequent and justified device in scientific research. Will the characteristic of the Future Tense as a category of language not be affected by the fact that in one language this category co-exists with categories of the spatial characteristics of an action, and in some languages merges in some measure with the category of mood and the forms of its expression. The need to express, in language, the relation between an object and qualitative characteristics is evidently a language universal. But it is not only the formal devices used to convey a given relationship that distinguish certain language groups typologically. What is important is whether a language possesses lexico-grammatical classes to express attributive relations, and whether it allows for synonymous substitutions (i.e. grammatico-syntactical synonyms, not lexical ones) and for correlative links between different forms of the parts of speech. It is these features that determine the typology of language structures, which is why the linguist should be very cautious in his generalizations even if he uses only implicative universals to characterize language types.

Present-day linguistics has not made any adequate study of the problem of the links between universals as regards a solution to the question of the gradation of notional categories according to the degree of their importance to the human mind's mastery of the phenomena of man's environment. Yet, if universals are regarded as content categories in language, then it is not only on the historico-epistemological plane but also on the synchro-functional that the question poses itself of which universals are all-inclusive and which are particular and secondary. The problem would seem to stand on the borderline between linguistics and psychology; its solution, however, is of prime importance for the correct orientation of linguistic research. On the epistemological plane, similar questions have been posed by V. Panfilov, mainly in connection with material on the history of the category of number (Panfilov 1977). It is an appreciation of typology as the sum, not only of formal, but also of content procedures that determines its linkage with the theory of universals. However, such an understanding of the essence of typology does not seem to be generally accepted. J. Greenberg, who recognizes the links between typology and the theory of universals, assigns to typology an area pertaining more to form than to content. "In the recent period typological studies have come to be generally associated with the quest for linguistic generalizations . . . By a singular turn of fate, a method which in the past has been used to characterize

and define differences among languages has become a major methodological tool in the investigation of linguistic generalization . . ." (Greenberg 1978, 34). "A theoretical analysis of basic typological concepts helps us to broaden our conception of crosslinguistic generalization, while its application provides a useful methodology for discovering such generalizations at the lower empirical levels and thus providing the materials for broader and deeper conclusions about the nature of human language" (ibid., 58). It thus emerges that, in the search for universals, J. Greenberg assigns to typology a kind of secondary role, and recognizes the value of typological investigations mainly for the collection and initial generalization of materials.

In our opinion, a language type is a certain form of organization of the notional content in language. In distinguishing a language type, with its particular features, it would be better to use one-level phenomena of language, though, due to the integrity of a language system, features of one level must correlate with the structure of other levels. The categorial blending of a feature and the object that is the carrier of that feature — i.e. non-distinction of any independent lexico-grammatical class of adjectives — must affect the syntactical structures of attributive and predicative complexes. The morphological distinction of action concentrated either in the sphere of subject alone, or, on the contrary, in that of an action directed towards the object, is reflected on the paradigmatic axis of the sentence in the same measure as in the morphological paradigms of words that can operate to express subject and object. A single yardstick for distinguishing language types guarantees that there will be no contradictions in the structure of their models. This will be, in a certain measure, an ideal scheme based on the material drawn from a number of languages but later applied to concrete languages.

Is the existence of "mixed" language types possible? If we assume that a language type comes into being out of a number or, more precisely, the sum, of individual language markers, the choice is thereby ensured of the most important markers for its characteristics, so that no need arises for a gamut of "transitions", the more so because, as mentioned above, a "language type" is an ideal, and in a certain measure abstract, model. Universals are kinds of isoglosses that link individual language types together, but the proportional importance of the same universal may differ in different language types. Thus, the category of object, which is evidently a universal in the languages of the world, may play a different role in languages that grammatically distinguish between the animate and inanimate object of an action, and those which morphologically level out such distinctions in a single case form and in the same syntactical construction. In actuality, however, one can find quite a few languages which combine in their structure orders which seem highly contradictory. Such facts are explained by the historical heterogeneity of the system of each language. In the search for interdependent language characteristics,

it was thought that, in the first place, such totalities were to be found within a single level of a language or within closely related levels (e.g. morphology and syntax). It is necessary to continue the search for interlinked aggregates between various levels (e.g. between grammar and types of the organization of the lexical material of a language, between phonetics and grammar, and so on).

Until now, a convincing display of such interdependencies has been confined to fairly narrow, related spheres. Reference has often been made to the similarity of procedures for word-formation and inflexion : in languages with a ramified paradigm of the inflexional type a wealth of word-formative affixes is to be observed, whereas in languages with a compressed paradigm or with paradigms organized on the basis of analytical technique, it is conversion that predominates in the area of word-formation. Certain successes in the area of word-order have been registered in analyzing the link between models. In this context J. Greenberg has written : "There seems, at the moment, to be just one example of a typology of more than two dimensions which are sufficiently heterogeneous so that it characterizes individual languages in regard to an extensive set of interconnected attributes, namely word order. For example, if I know that a language is VSO it can be predicted that it will be prepositional, and such a relationship is clearly between attributes that one would a priori attribute more independence to than final and medial clusters" (*ibid.*, 40).

"Transitional" periods in the development of a language should be taken into account in historical studies, but, in determining a language type, the mere presence of structural features of different levels is of less importance than the share of any particular construction compared with other possible formations and correlation with synonymic and homonymic models.

Synchronic typology is indebted to linguists' attempts to show a certain balance between individual features in any language, since this helps to bring together typologically languages that are genetically heterogeneous. Thus, Lehmann has tried to prove the following law-governed pattern in language structures. In a VO type language, sentence modifiers expressing questions and negations as well as possibility, reflexivity, or desirability stand before the verb whereas in a language of an OV type they follow the verb. On the morphological plane languages of the latter type (the OV model) are very often agglutinative (Lehmann 1973, 47).

A similar phenomenon has been noted by J. Greenberg in elements qualifying nouns : in languages of the VO type they follow the nouns, and precede them in languages of the OV type (Greenberg 1963). According to Lehmann's hypothesis, "noun modifiers" stand where they do because they are located on the side of modifying element which is the opposite of its primary accompaniment since in a VO word-combination it is the verbs that are the primary entities which accompany objects.

The interdependence between the facts of morphology and those of syntax has often been noted in linguistic science, the question of the initial basis of such phenomena being tackled in various ways. Sometimes reference has been made to a certain "decline" in the morphological structure of language in analytical languages, this being made up for by syntactical devices in the expression of grammatical meanings, for instance, through a fixed word-order. On the other hand, syntax sometimes has been seen as a medium which generates new morphological phenomena where various classes of lexemes are used as parts of the sentence. Of course, the specific structural organization of a given language affects the forms of the interdependence between morphology and syntax as well as the way grammatical meanings are expressed in morphological paradigms or in syntactical patterns. However, changes in the structure of language are evidently more complex than the simple replacement of OV structures by VO structures. Incidentally, while the VO structure is typical and almost essential in the present-day Germanic languages, English in particular, agglutination was quite uncharacteristic of the structure of the ancient Germanic languages such as, for instance, Old English, where OV structures were frequent. The correspondance between the position of the sentence object and attributives in nominal components cannot be considered a universal phenomenon either. It would seem that in present-day English, with its absolute prevalence of the VO pattern, an attributive should stand after the noun it qualifies but, as is common knowledge, the attributive usually precedes the word it modifies, the only exception being expanded attributives and subordinate clauses. An important part is evidently played in this language by the so-called rule of proximity, i.e. the striving to place next to each other words that are linked grammatically and in meaning.

One factor that is important in determining a language type is the solution of the question of the qualitative distinctions between language structures, and what can be attributed to variation in the system of language.

If we proceed from the definition of a language type as a form of organization of the notional content of the language, then the various forms in the particularization of a notion or, on the contrary, the phenomenon of a syncretism (for instance the uniting of the concepts of aspect and tense, aspect and mood etc.) have a direct bearing on the problem of the establishment of language types. At the same time, the particularization of any notion does not of itself create a "language type", although it is indubitably of interest for a description of a given language. A detailed description of spatial relations (as well as a rethinking of elements that previously served to express spatial relations but later acquired other functions) has been the subject of numerous writings in linguistics. In a comparison of categories of a single order in various languages, the question arises whether the divided nature of a grammatical category creates a new quality in it.

In some languages, verbs possess two moods, the indicative and the subjunctive, while in other languages they possess eight or nine or even more moods. Such "multiplying" is most often the result of the appearance of moods of irreality. In some languages the nominal classes possess only two numbers, the singular and the plural, while in other languages there exist concretized plural forms: dual and triple, with a subdivision into inclusive and exclusive forms. If the above and similar phenomena are considered variants of a single grammatical category, then how is one to determine the line of demarcation between variants and qualitative changes? In our opinion, the divided nature of categories of a single order is of less importance to a typological comparison of languages than differences in the modelling of complexes of interlinked notions.

A language type should be established according to its fundamental and not secondary typological indicators, which is why the formal and the semantic variations to be seen in a language system should be taken into account in typological studies. Within a particular system of language the interpenetration of grammatical meanings creates configurations in various languages that coincide in their overall outlines but are different in their internal division. In characterizing the verb system in present-day European languages from the typological point of view, Haarman takes a combination of such grammatical correlations as tense, aspect, types of action and modality, whose totality makes up a verbal paradigm. The grammaticized expression of tense is individualized in any language as a fundamental opposition. The next system which Haarman has defined as a verb system with grammaticized tense and grammaticized aspect, is marked by the fact that languages possessing it distinguish aspectual opposition in their paradigms as well as tense. At the same time, no language exists which, while possessing grammaticized aspect, does not possess tense opposition. Hence it follows that grammaticized aspect does not operate in isolation in a verb form but always in combination with the meaning of tense (Haarman 1976, 70—73). It is possible in language to have a combination which the author calls a "verb system with grammatical tense and rudimentary aspectual opposition", a type which he sees in the present-day Romance languages, all of which (with the exception of Rumanian) make use of the non-temporal opposition between two forms of the preterite. It is also possible to have more complex oppositions (tense — modality — mode of action) which Haarman finds in the verb systems of some Turkic languages (Tatar, Bashkirian and Gagauz) as well as some Finno-Ugric languages (Udmurt—Mari). However, a single part of speech, even if important, is insufficient, with all its categories, to distinguish a language type. Yet, such material can, in restricted investigations, serve as a step in the cognition of the complex system of language.

From the viewpoint of methods, it is important to ascertain whether a "language type" can be distinguished by operating with distinctive features

capable of expression in purely single terms. It would seem that in any "language type" there is a certain set of features distinguishing one type from another while each of these features has to be strictly monosemantic. A "set of indicators" for a separate distinctive feature is not permissible, though at first glance that might seem the most economical way of describing a language.

In determining distinctive features, binary oppositions have often been resorted to, but a graduated scale of distinction has some times been used, which results in the division into distinctive features becoming more fractionized. In F. Parker's opinion, "each feature must meet a number of demands: 1) each feature must be non-overlapping and continuous. That is, a definite feature defines every point on an independent or semi-independent parameter; 2) It must define one and only one continuum; 3) If one definition can be shown to more narrowly limit the set of permissible distinctive features, while still meeting the criteria of descriptive adequacy, it should be more highly valued". (Parker 1976, 62). Such a division into monosemantic features is unquestionably useful in the practice of analyzing concrete material, though the number of such features may grow. Parker illustrates his proposition with an example from phonetics, pointing out that if the "vocalic-consonantal" opposition is divided into smaller segments, then the resulting scheme will provide room for all disputable instances (for instance the definition of the "r" and the "j" sonants).

Consequently the following scheme:

\pm vocalic	\pm consonantal
$+$ vocalic	$-$ vocalic

will give us: $+$ consonantal *r, t*
 $-$ consonantal *i, j*.

As we see it, a study of grammatical phenomena on the plane of typological comparison may well make use of a proposition advanced by A. V. Bondarko, regarding the need to distinguish between the notion of "grammatical categoriality" and that of grammatical category, the former, in his opinion, being broader than the latter. Thus, categoriality (though of a special kind) may characterize lexico-grammatical division (for instance animate and inanimate, collective and material nouns, terminative and non-terminative verbs). He points out that "not everything that is covered by the notion of categoriality in grammar can be regarded as a grammatical category" (Bondarko 1978, 142). The interpretation of a morphological category as a system of mutually contrasting morphological forms will help to avoid the danger of an "erosion" of purely grammatical meanings surrounded by a sea of contiguous notions.

In some cases, however, one has to operate with what may be called a "broad" paradigm, for instance the place of the English *you* in the system of

grammatical categories characterizing English pronouns. *You* may refer to any number of people, and since *you* used with reference to a single person derives historically from the plural form of the pronoun in the second person and has kept its old form of agreement with the verb, the singular/plural opposition may be questioned. It would be logical to form the conclusion that the second person of the English personal pronoun is not marked by the category of number and that the latter meaning is merely contextual, not paradigmatic. However, if we turn to the series of reflexive pronouns formed from personal pronouns, the following morpho-paradigmatical features immediately appear: *myself* — *ourselves*, *yourself* — *yourselves*, and so on. It appears that the significance of the singular/plural opposition may be shown for the nominal paradigm as a whole.

Although linguistics most frequently operates with minimum quantities in an analysis of language structure, it cannot be claimed that micro-units are more reliable than what might be called macro-units in a comparison of languages. If, in defining a language type, we try to combine formal criteria with those of content, and establish the specific features for the expression of thought categories in any language, we shall inevitably have to consider the functioning of the units singled out in an environment typical of them. By the latter, one should understand both paradigmatic sets for units of a single order, and possible correlation between units of different structures in synonymous series. It is important not only to distribute categories of content as reflecting human perception of the environment and often finding expression in the specific organization of lexico-grammatical classes in language, but also to see how notions of quality, action, state, agent and the like are distributed among the parts of speech and how these and similar meanings are linked together in a given language.

Understood in a broad sense, synonymy can manifest itself not only in lexical synonyms but also be implemented in what may be called "contextual synonymy". In a comparison of individual languages, this type of synonymy proves important, since the above-mentioned notions expressed in languages within various lexico-grammatical classes may prove mutually equivalent in a broader context. The researcher should constantly keep within his field of vision facts that are linked with the grammatical and lexical valency of the parts of speech, their behaviour in word-combinations, the lexico-grammatical trends in processes of word-formation, and the categorial indicators of the main parts of the sentence. Therefore, in describing both structural indicators and content indicators of language types, one should seek their criteria on the borderline and "inter-level" areas of language.

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DIATHESIS

By

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The essential aim of the investigations into the question of voice, carried out at the beginning of the seventies within the group of structural typology at the Leningrad Section of the Institute for Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, was to work out a universal typological theory of diathesis and voice, on the basis of which an adequate, and, thus, contrastive and systematic description of both the voice of verbal lexemes, or, more precisely, of word-forms, and the voice of constructions in various languages may be possible. By this time, the basic principles of the theory under investigation and also the results of its application in describing data from unrelated languages, have already been laid down in a number of collective studies (*Kategorija zaloga*. Leningrad 1970; *Tipologija passivnyx konstrukcij*. Leningrad 1974; *Diatezy i zalogi*. Leningrad 1975; *Satzstruktur und Genus verbi*. Berlin 1976; *Problemy lingvističeskoj tipologii i struktury jazyka*. Leningrad 1977; *Problemy teorii grammatičeskogo zaloga*. Leningrad 1978) that have aroused a certain response.¹

The purpose of the present paper is to give a brief review of the most important concepts of the theory under investigation and, above all, the basic concepts of diathesis. First, however, we should mention the reasons that have encouraged the typologists of Leningrad to turn to the study of voice. There seem to be two such reasons. One of them — the more superficial — was the lack of a general theory of voice, although there were many alternative, partial theories defining this category in different ways and, correspondingly, variously limiting the set of facts concerning this category.² As J. Lyons has rightly mentioned, “the understanding of voice has been completely debatable from the point of view of both modern linguistics and the history of East European teaching of grammar” (Lyons 1978, 395). The other reason (and the deeper one) was the realization of the fact that the essence of voice oppositions can be

¹ Cf. for example, reviews by Maxačkova and Daneš 1975; Verenk 1979; Babbì 1976; Dezső 1977; Šubik 1978.

² A valuable review of those theories being current e.g. in Russian studies, is offered by the work of Korolev 1969.

described more adequately if the logical emphasis is transferred from the morphology of verbal forms to the sphere of the semantics and syntax of sentences with a verbal predicate.

One of the most important characteristic features of the Leningrad theory appears to be the introduction of the term *diathesis* as different from the term *voice*.³ The *diathesis* of any verbal form in any sentence can be most exactly defined as the *correlation* between the complex of the semantic meanings of the elements of the role structure characteristic of the lexeme of the given verbal form, and the complex of the syntactic meanings of the elements of the sentence structure which constitutes the environment of the given verbal form (cf. Khrakovsky 1974, 13; Uspenskij 1977, 66).

The hypothesis on which the theory discussed is based is as follows: any verbal lexeme is characterized by a *role structure* which does not change in any syntactic use of the lexeme — i.e. in any of its forms and by which the constancy of the lexeme is ensured. At the same time, each syntactic use of the lexeme has its own definite sentence construction, and consequently, the syntactic environment of different, and sometimes even the same, forms of the given verbal lexeme is a variable (cf. (1a) *Vetrom sorvalo kryšu* and (1b) *Kryša sorvana vetrom* both meaning 'The roof has been blown off by the wind'; (2a) *Rukovoditel' obespečil aspiranta otzyvami* 'The supervisor provided the post-graduate with reviews' and (2b) *Rukovoditel' obespečil otzvyvy aspirantu* 'The supervisor provided reviews for the post-graduate'.) In addition, all the constructions that have various forms of the same verbal lexeme with a given role structure seem to be synonymous on the semantic level of the lexeme, though there may, and often do, appear structures which are not synonymous as regards the set of the lexemes, the grammatical meanings or the theme-rheme division [cf. (3a) *Včera Maša dala Pete knigu* 'Yesterday Masha gave Petja a book', (3b) *Včera kniga byla dana Pete Mašej* 'Yesterday a book was given to Petja by Masha', (3c) *Včera knigu dali Pete* 'Yesterday (they) gave a book to Petja', (3d) '*Kniga byla dana Pete včera* 'Petja was given a book yesterday']].⁴

Of the above-mentioned hypothesis proves to be correct, then it will be possible to establish a theoretically admissible quantity of diatheses for each verbal lexeme. Moreover, it will be possible to set up the calculus of diatheses that does not describe the diatheses of various verbal lexemes in individual languages but defines the average quantity of diatheses that a verbal lexeme with its given characteristics can have in any language. Thus, the calculus appears to be a universal standard in relation to which the diathesis-systems of various verbal lexemes most frequently appear in individual languages as

³ In traditional linguistics terms like the Greek *diathesis*, Russian *zalog*, Latin *vox*, French *voix*, English *voice* and German *Genus* have been equivalents and have been used to define the same grammatical (i.e. morphological) category of the verb.

⁴ Cf. Khrakovsky 1974, 26.

reduced variants, as a consequence of the fact that all the logical possibilities of the diathesis-system cannot be, and usually are not, realized because of the limitations of the calculus imposed by the individual languages and concrete lexemes.

After having defined diathesis, it is easy to delimit voice as a "grammatically marked diathesis of the verb" (Xolodovič 1970, 13). In other words, we can speak of voice if in any language there is a definite (and conventionally determined) quantity of verbal lexemes that occur in various forms interrelated with definite diatheses. According to what has been said, differences in voice bring about differences in diathesis in such cases as for example: (4a) *Zaporožcy pišut pis'mo tureckomu sultanu* 'Zaporozhtsi are writing a letter to the sultan', and (4b) *Pis'mo tureckomu sultanu pišetsja zaporožcami* 'A letter to the sultan is being written by Zaporozhtsi', where one (active) diathesis is expressed by one (active) form, while the other (passive) diathesis is expressed by another (passive) form; and an analogous connection is characteristic of many other Russian verbal lexemes. At the same time, however, differences in voice do not bring about differences in diathesis in such cases as for example: Old Chinese (5a) *Jan shā Pan* 'Jan killed Pan', and (5b) *Pan shā yū Jan* — 'Pan is killed by Jan', where both passive and active diatheses are expressed by the same word-form; and this situation is characteristic of many other verbal lexemes of Old Chinese. Differences in diathesis in the absence of differences in voice can also be seen in cases (2a) and (2b), as well as in English (6a) *He loaded bricks onto the truck* and (6b) *He loaded the truck with bricks*, where two different diatheses are expressed by the same verbal form; and this phenomenon is characteristic of a number of lexemes in the English and Russian languages. Thus, in this theory diathesis is a semantic-syntactic and universal category: any verbal lexeme of any language has at least one diathesis; voice, however, is only a morphological and therefore non-universal category: not all verbal lexemes, and not all languages, have two formally different word-forms which are interrelated by various diatheses. While the possible quantity of the diatheses of any verbal lexeme is determined theoretically, the actual diatheses and the presence or absence of voice in various verbal forms can be determined only empirically. Seemingly, it can be claimed that all the empirically observed types of connections between the diatheses and word-forms of the same verbal lexeme can be divided into two extreme groups: 1) each diathesis is expressed by a specific verbal form, and the number of diatheses and that of voices are equal; 2) all the diatheses are expressed by a single verbal form, i.e. diathesis is not specifically marked in the verb and, consequently, there is no voice (Khrakovsky 1978, 52).

With this the definition of the term *diathesis* might be complete if there were some other clear theoretical concepts, particularly ones which

could help to define diathesis. First of all, the term role is seen as an element of the role structure characteristic of any verbal lexeme, and the term *c o n s t i t u e n t* or sentence member as an element of the language (= syntactic) structure characteristic of each verbal word-form. It is necessary (a) to specify the nomenclature of roles and sentence being used in the theory of diathesis, (b) to explain the principles of choosing those roles and sentence member that are necessary and sufficient to describe diatheses of verbal lexemes, (c) to specify those interrelated levels of semantic and syntactic representations on which the diatheses are to be separated according to the purpose of the investigation, (d) to point out the principles of the hierarchic organization of the elements of role and language structures, (e) to choose the most appropriate system of terms for the elements of role and language structures, (f) to characterize the calculus of diatheses, (g) to circumscribe those facts which can be described by the theory of diathesis.

In this paper, partly owing to lack of space, the author does not want to give detailed explanations, and offers only a brief account of his point of view concerning the above-mentioned problems.

The empirical base of the theory to be worked out is a text, or more precisely, textual sentences, of different languages which consist of either only a verbal word-form or a verbal and other word-forms which are connected with each other both semantically and formally. Sentences (1)–(6) and such Russian sentences as (7) *Temnejet* 'It is getting dark', (8) *Sosed mojet mašinu u reki* 'The neighbour is washing the car at the river', (9) *Sosed mojetsja u reki* 'The neighbour is washing (himself) at the river', (10) *Petja poceloval Mašu* 'Petja kissed Masha', (11) *Petja pocelovalsja s Mašej* 'Petja and Masha kissed one another', (12) *Ivanov sporit s Petrovym* 'Ivanov is arguing with Petrov', (13) *Ivanov i Petrov sporjat drug s drugom* 'Ivanov and Petrov are arguing with each other', (14) *Eti doma postroili v prošlom godu* '(They) built these houses last year', (15) *Eti doma postrojeny v prošlom godu* 'These houses were built last year'; etc., can serve as patterns.

It is immediately apparent that on the level of observation such "superficial" sentences consist only of words. The elements of semantic and syntactic structures, which are necessary for defining the diatheses of the verbal lexemes, are not represented on this level. They can be pointed out only after analyzing these sentences on the corresponding "deeper" level of representation. Therefore, at the first stage of the investigation it is necessary for each sentence to coordinate two structures: the semantic and the syntactic ones.

The transition from the sentences with a verbal predicate to their semantic structure is carried out in accordance with the theoretical representations, according to which verbal lexemes are predicates. Predicates are elementary semantic units which have slots to be filled. The predicate slot can be filled either by other predicates or objects which are elementary semantic

units that do not have slots to be filled. The elements which fill the slots of the predicate are called its arguments or roles. A predicate with the slots filled is a complex unit: a situation. Thus, verbal lexemes are denotations of situations, while the semantic structure of sentences with a verbal predicate can be modelled in the form of predicates with the slots filled where the relation of order is given. In general, the semantic structure of sentences with a verbal predicate can be described as $P(R_1, R_2, R_3, \dots R_n)$, where P is predicate and R_1, R_2, R_3, R_n are the roles of the predicate. This semantic structure seems to be the first subject of our study set up as a result of the transformation of our empirical base, i.e. of textual sentences with a verbal predicate. The essence of the transformation is that all sentences that contain the word-forms of the same verbal lexeme describe the same semantic structure. These sentences are different from one another in many ways. In some sentences, for instance, all the roles of a given verbal lexeme may be represented, while in others not all of them (cf. (16a) *Petja čitajet knigu* 'Petja is reading a book' and (16b) *Petja čitajet* 'Petja is reading/reads'). In some sentences the roles are expressed by certain lexemes, while in others by different ones (cf. (17a) *Petja čitajet knigu* 'Petja is reading a book' and (17b) *Vasja čitajet gazetu* 'Vasja is reading a newspaper'). In some sentences one of the word-forms of the verbal lexeme is used, while in others another one (cf. (18a) *Voditelj otkryvajet dver* 'The driver opens the door' and (18b) *Dver otkryvajetsja voditelem* 'The door is opened by the driver'). In some sentences each role is performed by a certain group of referents, while in others by a different one (cf. (19a) *Petja čitajet knigi* 'Petja is reading books' and (19b) *Petja i Vasja čitajut knigu* 'Petja and Vasja are reading a book'). In some sentences the various roles are performed by various referents, while in others by the same ones (cf. *Mama mojet Mašu* 'Mother is washing Masha'; (20b) *Mama mojetsja* 'Mother is washing (herself)'; (20c) *Mama i Maša mojet drug druga* 'Mother and Masha are washing one another'). In some sentences there is a certain theme-rheme structure, while in others there is a different one (cf. (21a) *Petja čitajet novuju knigu* 'Petja is reading a new book'; (21b) *Novuju knigu čitajet Petja* 'A new book Petja is reading'). The examples of similar differences might be continued. All of them have their semantic meaning but we can, and we must, abstract from them because they do not exist on the chosen level of the representation of the semantic structure of the sentence.

Verbal lexemes can be classified according to the number of roles. Theoretically the number of roles is not limited but in practice lexemes have from one to six roles (Apresjan 1974). The theory of diathesis in its first version included lexemes with not more than four roles (Xolodovič 1970). The pragmatic explanation for this is that in the transformation of diathesis and voice, which is fixed in the different languages, generally not more than four elements of the semantic structure take part (more frequently, only two or three).

As soon as we define the quantity of roles that a verbal lexeme may have, it implicitly means that we are able to distinguish or establish the roles of each verbal lexeme. In the theory of diathesis, when distinguishing the roles, the dictionary explanations of verbal lexemes were generally relied upon; and the number of roles was defined according to the variants of the lexeme in the dictionary explanation. This solution, that at first sight appears to be quite obvious, is not completely satisfactory because, in principle, a single lexeme can be given different explanations, each including a distinctive set of roles, and researchers, depending on which explanation seems to be the most adequate for them, will describe different quantities of roles of the same verbal lexeme; undoubtedly, this should be avoided, although, relying only upon semantic views, it does not always seem to be simple. For instance, it is not really clear what roles have to be included in the explanation of lexemes denoting some position in space, i.e. such types as 'to lie', 'to sit', etc. The question is whether the explanation includes only the role of he who lies, sits, or also of that on which someone lies, sits, etc. The choice of one or the other solution offers two different explanations of the same lexeme and two different sets of roles.

Leaving lexicographers to decide the question of the lexicographically relevant roles of verbal lexemes and that of the principles of constructing unambiguous definitions in dictionaries, we think that it is necessary to distinguish lexicographically essential and syntactically essential roles of lexemes, only the latter being relevant for the theory of diathesis. The roles of a verbal lexeme which are of syntactic importance are those necessarily expressed by some word-form of the verbal lexeme (Uspenskij 1917), in other words, those included in its obligatory environment (Xolodovič 1960). These are the roles which are necessary and sufficient for the identification of any concrete verbal lexeme in the text. Apparently, there may not be more than three or four such roles. This supposition derives from the fact that in speech perception a group or not more than four or five words is definitely understood and remembered (Miller, Galanter, Pribram 1965, 140). Exactly such a group is formed by a verbal lexeme and its three or four roles expressed by words. The necessity of the expression of roles is a formal sign which does not depend on the definition and, therefore, seems rather to be objective.

If, on the basis of the afore-said, we examine the lexeme *vezti* 'to convey/transport', then we can see the following. The number of lexicographically relevant roles of this lexeme is either five: 1 = who, 2 = whom what, 3 = on what, 4 = to where, 5 = from where; or six: adding 6 = on what road; or even (!) seven: adding 7 = why ((22a) (((*Petja vezjot jabloki na gruzovike iz Leningrada v Moskvu*) po novomu šosse) na prodažu) '(((Petja conveys apples on a lorry from Leningrad to Moscow) on the new highway) for sale)'. We find it difficult to give a correct answer to this question and hope that it will be

given by lexicographers. At the same time, in our opinion, only the first three roles are syntactically relevant, expressed by syntactically obligatory complements of the predicative word-form of this lexeme ((22b) *Petja vezjot jabloki* 'Petja conveys apples', (22c) *Gruzovik vezjot jabloki* 'The lorry conveys apples'). As far as the rest of the roles of the lexeme are concerned, they may be marked in the text [cf. (22a)] but only with the help of optional syntactic complements; therefore, these roles are not syntactically relevant, and thus not taken into consideration by the theory of diathesis.

As has already been mentioned, it is supposed that in the predicate slot there is a definite relation of order. In other words, the roles of a verbal lexeme are hierarchically ordered, i.e. each of them has its own "semantic" weight which is different from the "semantic" weight of the other roles. The role having the greatest semantic weight takes the first position, while the one with the least semantic weight takes the last position in the hierarchy of the roles of any verbal lexeme. According to the above, in defining the lexeme *davat* 'to give' as one with three roles (= who, 2 = what, 3 = to whom), we say, at the same time, that role 1 has the greatest semantic weight, role 2 has less, and role 3 the least semantic weight. The above idea of weight is essential for the calculus of diatheses and voice constructions because only on the basis of this is it possible to make use of the economical set of semantic meanings and to distinguish "direct" or "inverted" diatheses (Uspenskij 1977); there is, however, no formal procedure directly confirming its correctness, and we do not know, and do not believe that it is possible to find, any such procedures since it is a matter of the qualities of verbal lexemes and of their roles that appear to be semantic features that cannot be found by direct observation and that have only psychological reality. At the same time, there is some indirect evidence of the correctness of the above-mentioned idea. One of them is, for example, the fact that the difference between some verbal lexemes is easily described in terms of the different hierarchic arrangement of the same roles. Here, I am thinking of converting lexemes or lexical conversions of the type: *ljubit* 'to love' (= who, 2 = whom what) and *nravitsja* 'to appeal' (1 = who what, 2 = whom) (cf. (23a) *Petja ljubit Mašu* 'Petja loves Masha' ↔ (23b) *Petje nravitsja Maša* 'Masha appeals to Petja' or *soobščat* 'to announce' (1 = who, 2 = what, 3 = to whom) and *informirovat* 'to inform' (1 = who, 2 = whom, 3 = of about whom what) (cf. 24a) *Ivanov soobščil novosti Petrovu* 'Ivanov told announced the news to Petrov' ↔ (24b) *Ivanov informiroval Petrova o novostjax* 'Ivanov informed Petrov about the news'). The difference between the above pairs of conversions can obviously be characterized in a similar way: both roles in the first pair of conversions, and the second and third roles in the second pair, are the same but they have different semantic weight.

The hierarchic arrangement of the roles is not connected with their essential qualities. To put it in another way, the hierarchy of the roles is impor-

tant not only in those common cases where the lexemes have different roles but also in those less frequent ones when the lexemes have equal roles. Examples: *sporit'* 'to argue' (1 = who, 2 = with whom) which has two equal roles of those arguing [cf. (12)]. The fact that equal roles are performed in a different way in the basic syntactic structure may serve as another piece of indirect evidence supporting the reliability of the idea of the hierarchy of roles. If equal roles were not hierarchically ordered, then they would have equal arrangement in the syntactic structure of the sentence. Thus, when constructing a model of the structure of the level of content having psychological reality, we rely upon the actually observed phenomena of the level of expression. In principle, it can be stated that the hierarchy of the roles is generally defined by the hierarchy of the complements (Uspenskij 1977).

The hierarchy of the roles of each verbal lexeme is a constant. In the text a lexeme can be expressed by various word-forms and can appear in various constructions but these peculiarities of the level of expression do not affect the hierarchy of roles. Let us take, for example, the lexeme *davat'* 'to give' (1 = who, 2 = what, 3 = to whom) which can be found in such constructions as (25a) *Petja dal Maše knigu* 'Petja gave a book to Masha', (25b) *Knigu dali Maše* '(They) gave a book to Masha', (25c) *Kniga dana Maše* 'A book is given to Masha'. In (25a) role 1 fills the slot of the subject, while in (25b) it fills the slot of zero subject and in (25c) it does not have a syntactic slot. However, in both these examples and any other use of the lexeme *davat'* the hierarchy of roles remains exactly the same.

From this it follows that the basic hypothesis concerning a constant role structure must be refined so that not only the invariable set of roles but also the invariable type of their hierarchy should be taken into consideration. If the hierarchy of roles is not taken into account, then, obviously, there will be no grounds for distinguishing such converting lexemes as those examined above: *ljubit'*/*nравitsja*, *soobščat'*/*informirovat'*.

According to the definition given here of diathesis, the elements of the role structure of verbal lexemes must have specific semantic designations. The problem of choosing a system of designations does not seem to be simple but in our opinion, any decision should be made in accordance with the aim of the investigation. For instance, when establishing the inventory of the diatheses of concrete verbal lexemes, the various roles of lexemes can be designated by the situation named by the lexeme. From this point of view the three roles of the lexeme *rubit'* 'to chop' can be described by the following designations: 1 = he who chops, 2 = that which is chopped, 3 = that with which one chops. Similar designations can also be given, for example, to the three roles of such lexemes as *rezat'* 'to cut' and *kolot'* 'to prick'. But this system of designations can no longer be applied if the aim of the investigation is the establishment of the similarities and differences of diatheses of various verbal lexemes, because

it concentrates only on the designation of differences and does not take into consideration the similar substantial qualities of the roles of various lexemes. Consequently, it is necessary for this purpose to set up another, and naturally broader, system of designations according to which "he who chops" and "he who cuts" and "he who pricks" are different realizations of the one role of the subject; "that which is chopped" and "that which is cut" and "that which is pricked" are different realizations of the one role of the object; and "that with which one chops" and "that with which one cuts" and "that with which one pricks" are realizations of the one role of the instrument.

Recently in linguistics many sets of universal semantic roles have been suggested, and research in this field is being carried on (Fillmore 1967; Apresjan 1968, 1974; Gak 1969; Chafe 1971; Susov 1973; Bogdanov 1977). For the time being, there is no generally accepted list of roles although it is quite possible that any classification of roles based on only semantic differences, "may turn out to be subjective or too detailed" (Jaxontov 1978, 102). In our opinion, the most acceptable for the theory of diathesis is the list set up by Yu. D. Apresjan which includes such roles as for example, subject, counter-agent, object, addressee, means, instrument, etc. — altogether 25 roles (Apresjan 1974, 125—126). These roles and, correspondingly, their designations make it possible to characterize the role structure of as many verbal lexemes as are necessary for the typological studies defining the sets of those diatheses that are characteristic of lexemes with the same role structure. However, the present system of designations in its turn cannot be used for setting up a universal calculus of diatheses. The problem is that the calculus may include only those qualities of roles which are universal, i.e. characteristic of any lexeme in any language. The substantial qualities do not appear to be such universal qualities. They do not link but distinguish verbal lexemes. For instance, both lexemes *sporit'* 'to argue' (1 = who, 2 = with whom) and *ubivat'* 'to kill' (1 = who, 2 = whom) have two roles, the first of which is the subject. These lexemes are distinguished by their second role. The second role of the lexeme *sporit'* is also a subject, while that of the lexeme *ubivat'* is an object. At the same time, these lexemes belong to the class of substantially different lexemes with two roles. The universal quality of roles is their constant hierarchic arrangement, as is shown by the fact that each role of a given lexeme in any of its uses has the same position in the hierarchy, i.e. each has a constant semantic weight.

If we leave the substantial qualities of roles and focus our attention only on their hierarchy, then from this point of view the lexemes *sporit'* 'to argue' (A, B) and *ubivat'* 'to kill' (A, B) are not different from each other since both have two roles, one of which (A) has a greater semantic weight than the other (B). It is the hierarchy of roles that seems to be the universal quality essential for determining the calculus of diatheses. The substantial qualities of roles will become significant only after the calculus has already been set up, and we

begin to pass from the abstract possibilities set out in the calculus to the actual sets of diatheses characteristic of verbal lexemes in various languages. These qualities can be considered as a filter that lets some diatheses through and keeps others out. Thus, for example, the lexeme *sporit* 'has no passive diathesis, while the lexeme *ubivat* 'has, and this fact, apparently, is connected with the substantial qualities of the second roles of these lexemes.

In addition to the words expressing roles of verbal lexemes, a sentence may also contain words that are not necessary for the definition of the lexemes and that are called attributes (Kharkovsky 1970). Although for the characterization of sentences with a verbal predicate, and for the establishment of the dictionary definition of verbal lexemes the distinction between word = roles and word = attributes is of fundamental significance, this distinction is not so important for the setting up of a model of voice-relations. More important for this purpose is the formal classification on the basis of which two groups can be distinguished: (a) semantic elements not having an obligatory syntactic position in any of the constructions formed by the given verbal lexeme, and (b) semantic elements having an obligatory syntactic position in at least one of the constructions formed by the given verbal lexeme. Only the elements of group (b) are to be taken into account in the theory under investigation because, in addition to roles, they include attributes as well. Let us take, for instance, the Japanese verbal lexeme *sinu* 'to die'. According to the dictionary definition this lexeme has only one role: 1 = he who dies (Xolodovič 1974, 336). In sentences this role can be expressed by either words denoting non-relational concepts (of the type: *bol'noj* 'patient', *ženščina* 'woman', *starik* 'old man', *Taro*, *gospodin Tanaka* 'Mr. Tanaka', *on* 'he', *ona* 'she') or words denoting relational concepts (of the type: *muž* 'husband'/whose?, *žena* 'wife'/whose?, *babuška* 'grandmother'/whose?. In the first case the semantic structure includes only the verbal lexeme and its only role [(26a) *Tanakasanga sinda* 'Mr. Tanaka died']. In the second case the semantic structure additionally includes the attribute which reveals the meaning of the relational concept, and in the active construction it takes the semantically obligatory position of the attribute to the subject ((26)b *Kareno¹ okusanga² sinda* 'His¹ wife² died'). This attribute is not connected with the meaning of the verbal lexeme but the presence of both the role and the attribute in the semantic structure offers the theoretical possibility of their syntactic conversion that is realized in the passive construction (C 26 c) *Kareva¹ okusanni sinareta²* 'He¹ is given a dead wife² (He¹ has his wife² dead)' where the attribute takes the syntactically obligatory position of the subject and, consequently, is to be taken into account when setting up a model for voice-relations.

In the case of the same verbal lexeme in various constructions the different attributes may fill obligatory syntactic slots. For instance, there is the interesting case of the verbal lexemes of the type *bali* 'to buy' in the Sabah

Murut language spoken on the island of Borneo and belonging to the Indonesian branch of the Malay-Polynesian languages. If we state that the above lexeme has only two roles: 1 = he who buys and 2 = that which is bought, then for the description of the diatheses of this lexeme we have to take into consideration the attributes as well: 3 = he for whom something is bought, 4 = for how much something is bought, 5 = when buying takes place, because there are constructions in which each of the above-mentioned attributes takes the obligatory position of the subject and the verb appears to be in a special form of voice (Khrakovskij 1978, 51).

The attribute, filling an obligatory syntactic slot in one of the constructions, is often optional in others. However, the attribute that is syntactically obligatory in one construction is used not at all in the rest of the constructions with verbal lexemes. This can occur as with the Japanese lexeme *furu* 'to fall from heaven concerning rain and snow' which has only one role referring to two lexical meanings: rain and snow. In the active construction this role fills the obligatory slot of the subject ((27a) *Amega¹ futta* 'Rain/snow¹ was falling (It was raining/snowing)'). In the passive construction this role fills the obligatory slot of the agentive complement and the obligatory slot of the subject is filled by the attribute denoting the person caught by rain/snow ((27b) *Bokuva¹ ameni² furareta* 'I got under rain/snow²'). In other constructions this attribute is not used. However, the person caught by rain or snow could be considered as the role of the lexeme *furu* (cf. Xolodovič 1974a; Jaxontov 1975; Uspenskij 1977) just like any other attribute filling obligatory syntactic slots. As far as the theory under study is concerned, any solution is acceptable.

What has already been stated makes it possible to consider the hierarchically ordered and theoretically unlimited set of semantic variables (SemP — from the Russian term *semantičeskaja peremennaja*) A, B, C, D, . . . as the first essential object necessary for the establishment of the calculus of diatheses. This set includes roles and attributes which fill an obligatory syntactic slot in at least one of the constructions formed by the given lexeme. Mention must be made of the followings: although in the actual description of verbal lexemes in terms of diatheses and voices, generally not more than three, sometimes four, or very rarely five, SemPs are used, yet the finite set, made up by the four semantic elements which appeared in the earlier variants of the theory under consideration, has been replaced with an infinite set of SemPs which is necessary for the establishment of the calculus in all cases.

The transition from sentences with a verbal predicate to their syntactic structure is realized according to the theoretical instructions, on the basis of which it is stated that the syntactic structure of a sentence is a network of hierarchically ordered relations between the elements that can be described in the form of a linearly unlimited subordination tree. There are two types of elements of syntactic structure: 1) kernel (= predicate) and its constituents

(= subject and objects, 2) incidentals (= adverbs). The elements of syntactic structure in the Russian linguistic tradition bear the names of the various sentence members.

According to the definition of diathesis accepted here, the elements of syntactic structure should have special syntactic designations. The problem of how to choose the system of designations, or more precisely, to choose the levels of syntactic representation allows several different solutions. The choice of one of the possible solutions is defined by the aim of the research. If an inventory of diatheses of concrete verbal lexemes must be set up, then it is reasonable to mark the elements of syntactic structure in terms of definite morphological signs of the words which fill the slots of these elements, i.e. in terms like 'case with preposition'. Thus, if we examine sentences [(28a) *Prepodavatel' ukazal učniku na ošibku* 'The teacher showed the student his mistake' and (28b) *Učniku bylo ukazano na ošibku prepodavatelem* 'To the student his mistake was shown by the teacher'] in which the predicate slot is filled by various (active and passive) word-forms of the verb *ukazyvat* 'to point out', then we can say that sentence (28a) contains the constituents N^{nom} , N^{dat} and $na + N^{acc}$ and sentence (28b) contains the constituents N^{dat} , $na + N^{acc}$ and N^{instr} . In languages where there are no cases the word order must be taken into consideration. Compare, for example, the Old Chinese sentences (5a) and (5b) in which the predicate slot is filled by the same word-form of the verb *sa*. In (5a) we can distinguish the pre-verbal constituent N and the post-verbal constituent N , while in (5b) we can distinguish the pre-verbal constituent N and the post-verbal constituent *yü* N . The present system of designations, that adequately characterizes the most superficial and thus the most meaningful level of syntactic representation, is for the main part directed towards the setting up of the special features of the form of each element in the role structure of a given lexeme in various constructions.

If, however, the investigation is aimed at setting up the inventory of diatheses of all the verbal lexemes of a certain language, then the emphasis is transferred from the characterization of the superficial morphological and linear qualities of all the elements of the structure to the characterization of more profound, less meaningful and, at the same time, more general qualities of the elements of syntactic structure. Correspondingly, the system of syntactic designations also changes. This change may bring about the broadening of the original designations. For instance, such a situation is characteristic of the grammar of the Russian language in which the constituent N^{nom} will be called a subject (P — from the Russian term *podležaščee*), the constituent N^{acc} direct object (D_{pr} — from the Russian term *prjamoje dopolnenije*) and the rest of the constituents, independent of their preposition + case forms, will be combined in one constituent called indirect object (D_k — from the Russian term *kosvennoje dopolnenije*). Thus, if, according to the original system of syntactic de-

signations, sentences (2a) and (4a) contain not exactly identical sets of constituents ((2a) N^{nom} , N^{acc} , N^{instr} ; (4a) N^{nom} , N^{acc} , N^{dat}), then on the basis of the broadened system of syntactic designations these sentences will contain the same set of constituents (P , D_{pr} , D_k). Moreover, if the investigation aims to set up a universal calculus of diatheses, then in this case only the most profound and essential qualities of the elements of syntactic structure are to be taken into account. The only such universal quality of the elements seems to be their hierarchy in the structure. If we are concentrating on this quality, a new system of syntactic designations is required. For this case, we shall use here figures: 1, 2, 3, 4, This system of designations can also be considered a result of the broadening of the previous systems. Let us take, for example, sentences (29a) *Pis'ma ne polučeny* 'Letters are were not received' and (29b) *Pisem ne polučeno* 'There are were no letters received'. In terms of sentence members the only constituent in (29a) is the subject and in (29b) the indirect object. According to the broadened universal system of syntactic designations in both sentences there is only one constituent (the first word: *pisma* and *pisem*).

Thus the second essential object of the investigation, necessary for the establishment of the calculus of diatheses, should be the hierarchically ordered and theoretically unlimited set of syntactic variables (SinP — from the Russian term *sintaksičeskaja peremennaja*): 1, 2, 3, 4, . . . which include constituents and incidentals see p. 20, note obligatory in at least one of the constructions formed by the given verbal lexeme.

The classification of SinPs is based on the following basic positions: the main element of syntactic structure at the zero level of hierarchy is the predicative word-form representing the verbal lexeme. This word-form is necessary, and sometimes sufficient as well, for the construction of a sentence with a verbal predicate if we maintain that in sentences like (30a) *Podmorozilo* 'There was frost' and (30b) *Svetajet* 'Day is breaking/It is dawning' there are no zero subjects. Any individual SinP belonging to the environment of the predicative word-form, independently of its semantics, morphology and linear position, is on the first level of the hierarchy and, correspondingly, is the first SinP [(31a) *Nastupilo utro* 'Day has come', (31b) *Vody pribylo* 'Water has risen', (31c) *Sigroj pokončeno* 'The game is over']. If the environment of the predicative verbal word-form contains several SinPs, then each of them takes its own level of hierarchy and, correspondingly, they are the first, second, third, etc. SinPs. None of the levels of hierarchy can be excluded and, therefore, in the structure there may not be a second SinP in the absence of the first, or a third SinP in the absence of the first and the second [(32a) *Ja¹ ne splju* 'I¹ do not sleep', (32b) *Mne¹ ne spitsja* 'I¹ can't get to sleep', (33a) *My¹ vybrali Ivanova² predsedalelem³* 'We¹ elected Ivanov² (as) president³', (33b) *My¹ vybrali predsedatelja²* 'We¹ elected (the) president²', (33c) *Ivanov¹ vybran predsedale-*

*lem*² 'Ivanov¹ has been elected president²', (33d) *Predsedatel'*¹ *vybran* 'The president¹ has been elected']. In the structure there may not be two or more SinPs with the same index, i.e. on the same level of hierarchy. In other words: the structure may not have, for instance, two SinPs marked with 1 or two SinPs with 2, etc.

The theoretical problem of the hierarchic organization of SinPs in the structure of the sentence is accompanied by the practical problem of how to determine the hierarchy of SinPs in concrete sentences in various languages. While the solution of the first problem is important for the formulation of the theory of diathesis, that of the second problem serves as a key to the practical application of the theory. When examining the second problem, it is reasonable to start with the fact that neither syntactic variables nor their relationships belong to the immediately perceptible data and so they can be distinguished only by formal signs which, at the more superficial levels of syntactic representation, serve as marks of various SinPs that cannot be observed directly. The question of the bases for the classification of SinPs belongs to the field of the theory of diathesis while the question of features, according to which the SinP indices are given in concrete sentences, belongs to the sphere of the competence of the grammars of the individual languages. The theory of diathesis can only be expected to give an approximate list of such features which contain, for example, the comparative morphological arrangement of SinPs, the linear syntax of SinPs and tests for the omission of SinPs. The question of how to use them — and probably some others as well — is to be answered by individual grammars in which there must be a set of rules such as the following, which has been formulated in relation to Russian constructions with two constituents: if one of the two SinPs is expressed by nominative case, then it will be the first one, independently of the concrete morphological form of the other SinP, which can only be the second. In other words, in a pair of a direct and an oblique case the direct case has a greater syntactic weight than the oblique one. A preliminary list of rules concerning the registration of SinP-indexes in Russian constructions with two constituents can be found in Khrakovsky 1975a.

The sets of SemPs and SinPs are necessary and sufficient for the establishment of the calculus of diatheses of verbal lexemes. The general form of the calculus is determined by the postulated principle of correlation between the elements of the two sets. According to this principle, the definite quantity of the hierarchically ordered SemPs and SinPs is given. The calculus includes both those diatheses in which all the given SemPs are expressed with the help of the given SinPs and also those in which some SemPs (in rare cases all of them) are not expressed with the help of the given SinPs. On the basis of the proposed principle of correlation, we can set up the following calculus of diatheses:

Let us have a chain of A, B, C, D, . . . Z where A, B, C, D, . . . Z are semantic variables expressed by syntactic variables, and the position of each

semantic variable in the chain corresponds to the index of its syntactic variable denoting some syntactic weight. Thus, the chain of A, B, C, D, . . . Z can be also written as (A = 1) (B = 2) (C = 3) (D = 4) . . . (Z = n).

If some semantic variable is not expressed by a syntactic variable, then in the chain it is marked with an X. The position of X in the chain is not important because the absence of any syntactic variable deprives X of its syntactic weight. Therefore, X is always indicated at the end of the chain.

In the case of two SemPs there are the following chains :

P_2	AB	P_1	AX	XX
	BA	P_2	BX	
C_2^2	P_2	C_1^1	P_1	I, i.e. 5 diatheses ⁵

$$^5 P_n = n!, \quad C_n^m = \frac{n!}{m! (n-m)!}$$

In the case of a chain of n semantic variables there are altogether

$$C_n^n P_n + C_n^{n-1} P_{n-1} + C_n^{n-2} P_{n-2} + \dots + C_n^1 P_1 + 1 = \sum_{i=0}^n C_n^i P_i$$

possible diatheses.

The diatheses of a given calculus in a static approach are characterized as logically equally determined and non-related derivational connections. In a dynamic approach the logically equally determined connections will be replaced with connections of derivational dependence. The diatheses are divided into one which is basic, the rest being considered as derivatives which, with the help of direct or indirect operations, are formed from the basic one. A diathesis is considered to be basic if the hierarchy of SemPs corresponds to the hierarchy of SinPs, i.e. the diathesis is of the type : (A = 1) (B = 2) (C = 3) (D = 4) . . . (Z = n). Any breach in the correlation of the hierarchies of SemPs and SinPs, observed in any other diathesis, shows a shift in the original diathesis or refers to the derivational character of the given diathesis. Thus, a shift in the diathesis is a kind of change in the order of the elements of the chain A, B, C, D, . . . Z, corresponding to the original diathesis, and or the replacement of one element (very rarely all) of the chain with X. In general, all verbal lexemes have an original diathesis, while the setting up of derivational ones is significantly limited.

Here are some examples for the calculus of diatheses of transitive verbs (requiring a direct object) with two constituents : (A = 1) (B = 2) (34a) *Vnuk razorval rubašku* 'The grandson tore the shirt' (35a) *Babuška rugačet vnuka* 'Grandmother scolds grandson'; (A = 2) (B = 1): (34b) *Rubaška razorvana vnukom* 'The shirt was torn by grandson'; (A = 1) (B = x) (35b) *Babuška*

rugajetsja 'Grandmother is scolding'; (A = x) (B = 1) (34c) *Rubaška razor-valas* 'The shirt was torn'; (A = x) (B = x) (no reliable example).⁶

To complete the examination of the calculus of diathesis, it must be emphasized that it provides a comparatively limited number of diatheses: two for one-constituent verbs, five for two-constituent verbs and sixteen for three-constituent ones (for further details cf. Khrakovsky 1975).

In describing the sphere of influence of the theory of diatheses and, at the same time, circumscribing the facts described by this theory, it seems to be important to pay attention to the following three features. Firstly, unlike the traditional approach to the problem of voice, the present theory examines "diatheses where the correlation between the semantic and syntactic subjects remains constant and all changes take place between the objects and complements" [Xolodovič 1970, 20. Examples: (36a) *Devočka namazala maslo na xleb* 'The girl put butter on the bread', (36b) *Devočka namazala xleb maslom* 'The girl buttered the bread' (cf. also (2a) and (2b)]; such sentences can quite often be found in various languages. Secondly, according to the traditional approach and contrary to the point of view we adhered to earlier (Khrakovsky 1974), indefinite-personal constructions are excluded from the sphere of influence of the theory because, as regards diathesis, they are not different from the related definite-personal constructions (Xolodovič 1974a; Růžička 1978). Thirdly, unlike in traditional representations which appeared to be right at the earlier stages of the formation of the theory (Xolodovič 1970, 24), the process of the transition from the basic construction to the derived reflexive and reciprocal constructions need not be characterized in terms of the diathesis and voice changes.

This conclusion, that we ourselves have found surprising, needs some further comment. Let us begin with the well-known fact that there are two types of reflexive and reciprocal constructions. Some reflexive and reciprocal constructions differ from the related basic constructions only lexically: in these the slot of one of the complements is filled by some pronominal word which agrees with the noun(s) in the subject slot and refers to it (cf. (37a) *Konferansje parodirujet artistov* 'The compere parodies actors' and (37b) *Konferansje parodirujet sebja* 'The compere parodies himself'; (38a) *Olja oskorbila Mašu* 'Olja insulted Masha' and (38b) *Olja i Maša oskorbili drug druga* 'Olja and Masha insulted each other'). These reflexive and reciprocal constructions are not usually examined by traditional voice-theory. The other reflexive and reciprocal constructions differ from the related basic constructions not lexically but syntactically (the position of one of the non-first constituents is eliminated) and morphologically (the predicative verbal word-form is specially marked) (cf. (39a) *Babuška pričesala vnuka* 'Grandmother combed grandson',

⁶ Cf. the calculus in the study (Xolodovič 1970, 14).

(39b) *Babuška pričesalas* 'Grandmother combed (herself)', (40a) *Babuška obn'ala vnuka* 'Grandmother embraced grandson', (40b) *Babuška i vnuk obn'alis* 'Grandmother and grandson embraced'). These are the reflexive and reciprocal constructions that are examined by traditional voice-theories.

The first remark to be made in connection with the above is the following: since reflexive and reciprocal constructions of both types are semantically equivalent (cf. (39b) *Babuška pričesalas* (39c) *Babuška prečesala sebjā* 'Grandmother combed herself', (40b) *Babuška i vnuk obn'alis*, (40c) *Babuška i vnuk obn'ali drug druga* 'Grandmother and grandson embraced each other'), it is reasonable to describe these constructions together, i.e. either all should be included in the sphere of influence of the theory of diatheses or all of them should be excluded.

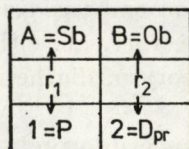
The second remark is connected with some interpretational difficulties which arise within the framework of the studied theory of diatheses if reflexive constructions of the type (39b), following tradition, are considered to be voice-related. Let us compare the following pairs: (35a) *Babuška rugajet vnuka* 'Grandmother scolds grandson', (39a) *Babuška prečesyvajet vnuka* 'Grandmother is combing grandson', and (35b) *Babuška rugajetsja* 'Grandmother is scolding', (39b) *Babuška pričesyvajetsja* 'Grandmother is combing (herself)'. In the first pair the basic "direct" diathesis of the two-constituent verbs is realized ($A = 1$) ($B = 2$). It has been accepted that the zero form of verbs in these constructions is marked by the active voice. In the second pair there is realized an identical derivational diathesis ($A = 1$) ($B = x$) but while in (35b) the post-fix *-sja* marks a voice of impersonal object, in (39b) the same post-fix marks another — reflexive — voice. Thus, we are faced with the problem of a homonymy of voices in the case of a single diathesis which cannot be easily explained within the framework of the theory under investigation.

It seems to be much easier to find arguments according to which the transition from the basic constructions to reflexive and reciprocal constructions of both types need not be described in terms of the alternative diathesis and voice. In connection with what has already been said it must be emphasized that in the various voice-theories, as was the case, for example, in the theory of diathesis not long ago, the delimitation of the levels of *roles* and that of *referents* (performers of the roles) was not properly carried out, so that terms like *roles* and *participants* were used as synonyms in designating units of semantic (role) levels; although the distinction and correlation between the units of the referential and semantic levels gives the solution to the specification of reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

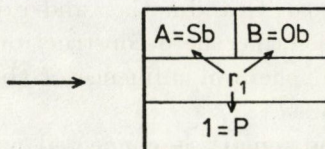
While in all constructions, except for reflexive and reciprocal ones, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the referents and the roles of a verbal lexeme, in the reflexive and reciprocal constructions this one-to-one correspondence is broken. In the reflexive construction (39b), unlike in the basic

construction (39a), one referent happens to be in two roles of the verbal lexeme and this is the change that is marked in syntax (a complement is prohibited) and in morphology (verbal form with the post-fix *-sja*). The relation of the units of semantic, referential and syntactic levels of verbal lexemes in the basic and reflexive constructions is shown by the following scheme (for further details cf. Khrakovskij 1978):

(39a)

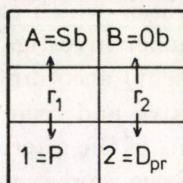


(39b)

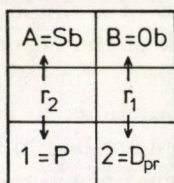


In the reciprocal construction of the type (40b), which is the result of the combination of two basic constructions: (40a) and (40d) *Vnuk obn'al babušku* 'Grandson embraced grandmother'), unlike in the basic construction, two referents simultaneously perform two roles, and this is the change that is marked in syntax (lack of complement), morphology (verbal form with the post-fix *-sja*) and vocabulary (the conjunction of the names of the referents in the position of the subject). The relation of the units of semantic, referential and syntactic levels of verbal lexemes in both basic and derivational constructions is shown by the following scheme:

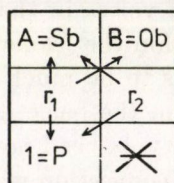
(40a)



(40d)



(40b)



In order to give an appropriate solution to the problem studied, it is extremely important to bear in mind that in some languages, as for example in Lithuanian, there are not only active but also passive reflexive and reciprocal constructions ((41) *Onas apsirengta* 'Ann was dressed (by herself)', (42) *Judvieju, pykstamasi* 'They are angry with each other'). In this case the word-forms of the verbal lexemes in the passive reflexive and passive reciprocal constructions possess a sign of both passive and reflexive reciprocal voice and, consequently, according to tradition, they should be considered to be "two-voiced". However, partial aspectual meanings of any grammatical category (including voice) which are semantically similar cannot be combined in one

word-form. As a result, the passive on the one hand, and reflexive and reciprocal on the other, must be taken, on the basis of formal signs, as partial aspectual meanings of various grammatical categories.

To sum up, the following conclusion can be drawn. In principle, any verbal lexeme can be represented by three paradigms of a word-form: 1) basic paradigm of the word-form that indicates a one-to-one correspondence between referents and roles, 2) reflexive paradigm of the word-form which shows that a referent appears in at least two roles, and 3) a reciprocal paradigm of the word-form which shows that two referents perform two roles. Distinctions of the word-forms in each of these three paradigms are connected with differences within diatheses and voices. As far as the differences between the paradigms of the word-forms are concerned, they are not related to the differences within diatheses and voices but reflect distinctions between the units of referential and semantic levels, and, therefore, are not included in the sphere of influence of the theory of diathesis.

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К ПЕРСПЕКТИВАМ КОНТЕНСИВНО-ТИПОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ

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Уже в настоящее время начинает оправдываться предвидение Л. Ельмслева о все большем возрастании в будущем роли типологии среди других фундаментальных лингвистических дисциплин. Это обстоятельство становится особенно очевидным на фоне ведущихся уже около полувека содержательно ориентированных типологических исследований, основанных на анализе способов передачи субъектно-объектных отношений в языках мира. Как известно, в последний период эти исследования резко интенсифицировались (ср., например, исключительно высокий интерес современного языкознания к общей теории эргативности). Теперь уже можно говорить об их выдающемся вкладе в развитие самой лингвистической типологии. Вместе с тем, существуют основания надеяться на их возможный вклад в науку о языке и за пределами типологии, в частности, в разработку глоттогонической проблематики.

Прежде всего, следует подчеркнуть, что содержательно ориентированная типология значительно отчетливее формальной подтверждает системный характер языка и тем самым открывает дальнейшие перспективы системного подхода к его изучению. С ходом ведущихся исследований в их распоряжение поступает все большая совокупность аргументов, свидетельствующих о том, что постулируемые в их сфере номинативный, эргативный, активный (равно, как и как будто намечающиеся некоторые другие) типы представляют собой качественно различные системы разноуровневых признаков-координат, охватывающих язык как единое целое. В каждом из этих языковых типов реализуются специфические принципы организации лексического, синтаксического и морфологического уровня (последние перечислены в порядке их выявляемой естественной иерархии). Так, языки активной типологии характеризуются на уровне лексики профилирующим распределением глагольных слов на классы активных и стативных, а субстантивов — на классы активных («одушевленных») и инактивных («неодушевленных»), на уровне синтаксиса — особой типологией предложения с оппозицией его активной и инактивной конструкций, а также спецификой инвентаря дополнений (дифференциация так наз. ближайшего и дальнейшего дополнений вместо прямого и косвенного, функционирующих в номинативных языках), на уровне морфологии — противопоставлением активной и инактивной серий личных аффиксов в глагольном

спряжении, различием центробежной и нецентробежной версий активного глагола, а также некоторыми иными чертами (Климов 1977). Названный набор структурных признаков принципиально отличен от соответствующих характеристик представителей как эргативного, так и номинативного строя. Ср., в частности, характерное для первых (т. е. для эргативных языков) противопоставление классов агентивных и фактививных глаголов, эргативной и абсолютной конструкций предложения, эргативной и абсолютной серий личных глагольных аффиксов или их функциональных аналогов — эргативного и абсолютного падежей, а также характерное для вторых (т. е. для номинативных языков) противопоставление классов транзитивных и интранзитивных глаголов, наличие единой номинативной конструкции предложения, противопоставление субъектной и объектной серий личных глагольных аффиксов, а также именительного и винительного падежей. Если к тому же учесть, что в общеграмматической литературе показана, например, логическая производность родительного и дательного падежей от именительного и винительного падежей (ср. известные работы Е. Куриловича, Э. Бенвениста и др.), что свидетельствует об их принадлежности парадигме склонения лишь номинативных языков, то станет возможным увидеть, насколько глубоко пронизывают структуру языка импликации того или иного типологического состояния. Тем самым открываются конкретные перспективы для преопределения весьма распространенной в исследованиях по общей теории эргативности точки зрения, в какой-то степени сказавшейся в предшествующих работах автора настоящей статьи (Климов 1973), согласно которой морфология и синтаксис одного и того же языка могут представлять собой типологически различные схемы.

В связи с постоянно проявлявшейся в истории языкознания тенденцией трактовать контенсивную типологию как целносистемную (*whole system typology*) т. е. охватывающую все уровни языковой структуры, целесообразно коротко коснуться места, занимаемого в ней фонологической системой. Думается, что для адекватного решения этого вопроса необходимо учитывать два следующих обстоятельства. Во-первых, фонологическая система языка, призванная, как известно, обслуживать его более высокие уровни, не может вступать в какое-либо противоречие с типологическими принципами, реализуемыми в последних. Во-вторых, морфология, на наш взгляд, не без основания рассматриваемая многими в качестве составной части фонологии, прямо ориентирована на передачу специфических для каждого языкового типа содержательных отношений (ср., например, роль морфонологических чередований в выражении противопоставления центробежной и нецентробежной версий в представителях активного строя).

Сказанное так или иначе приводит содержательно ориентированную типологию к мысли о мотивированности структурного своеобразия каждого выделяемого в ее сфере языкового типа некоторым глубинным стимулом, кото-

рый можно условно назвать его семантической детерминантой. Есть основания полагать, что если для номинативных языков подобным стимулом является противопоставление субъектного и объектного начал, то для эргативных — это противопоставление агентивного и фактивитивного, и для активных — противопоставление активного и инактивного начал. Таким образом, по-видимому, возникает возможность реализации детерминантного подхода к языковым структурам (именно такой подход позволил четко осознать, что не только абсолютный, но и эргативный падеж являются величинами, передающими субъектно-объектные отношения диффузно).

Контенсивно-типологические исследования, рассматривающие структурные особенности языковых типов в связи с ориентацией последних на определенное мыслительное содержание, по-видимому, способны внести свой вклад в решение и глоттогонических проблем. Это обстоятельство вытекает из того, что передаваемое языком мыслительное содержание не может не развиваться (автор различает факты изменения и развития в языке). Конечно, такой вклад будет более ощутимым, если языкознанию, подобно остальному комплексу гуманитарных наук удастся строго обосновать поэтапный, т. е. стадийный характер языковой эволюции. Однако, немало интересных наблюдений можно сделать уже в настоящее время. Достаточно отметить, например, что эргативные языки, в общем не намного уступающие на лингвистической карте мира номинативным, уже теперь следует рассматривать в качестве весьма характерных языков современного человечества, а отнюдь не в качестве очень архаических, что очень часто предполагалось в языкознании прошлого.

Естественно, однако, что особенно существенным оказывается вклад контенсивно-типологических исследований в развитие самой типологии.

И здесь в первую очередь следует подчеркнуть, что именно они способны превратить типологию в строгую и объективную лингвистическую дисциплину, сопоставимую по своим объяснительным возможностям и, следовательно, по онтологической значимости своих результатов, с генетическим (сравнительно-историческим) и ареальным языкознанием. В этом плане представляется очень показательным, что в отличие от формально-типологической схематики, как часто варьирующей от одного автора к другому (ср. типологические классификации Фр. Шлегеля, А. Шлегеля, В. фон Гумбольдта, А. Шлейхера, Г. Штейнталя, М. Лацаруса, Ф. Мистели, М. Мюллера, Ф. Финка, В. Скалички, Дж. Гринберга и мн. др.), все исследователи контенсивно-типологической проблематики оперируют по существу одним и тем же набором языковых типов в составе номинативного (/аккузативного), эргативного, активного (фиентивного) и некоторых других. Нетрудно видеть, что это — важнейшее следствие того факта, что содержательно ориентированная типология опирается в своих процедурах не на произвольные, а на строго определенные критерии структурного подобия языков. Напротив, метод формальной

типологии сводится к наложению произвольно избранных, как это неоднократно подчеркивалось представителями последней (ср. Гринберг 1960, 179), критериев на языковой материал, что принципиально отлично от метода, зарекомендовавшего себя в генетической и ареальной лингвистике. Подобно обоим последним контенсивная типология сначала обращается к реальным совокупностям языков, обнаруживающих определенные структурные аналогии, далее строит на базе последнего понятие языкового типа (как систему разноуровневых признаков-координат), и лишь затем соотносит с соответствующим типологическим классом те языки, структурные параметры которых в той или иной степени отвечают понятию конкретного типа. Таким образом, преимуществом контенсивной типологии перед формальной представляется не только то, что она с необходимостью оперирует понятием языкового типа (а не типа в пределах того или иного языкового уровня), но и то, что в ней традиционно обособлены друг от друга такие принципиально разноплановые явления, как языковой тип и типологический класс языков: если первое есть некоторое абстрактное построение, объединяющее логически взаимно необходимые структурные признаки (отсюда, между прочим, должна быть очевидной некорректность нередко встречающегося в специальной литературе понятия «смешанного типа»), то второе составляет определенную группировку реальных языков, в той или иной степени укладывающихся в понятие языкового типа.

В предшествовавшем изложении уже подчеркивалась существенность с точки зрения исследовательских перспектив контенсивной типологии того обстоятельства, что она оперирует не отдельными уровнями языка, а совокупностью показаний различных уровней. В связи с этим здесь уместно задать следующим весьма серьезным вопросом: каким образом можно доказать принадлежность формально-типологических исследований, оперирующих узкими совокупностями фактов, например, ограниченных пределами какого-либо отдельного уровня, к жанру собственно типологических? (Как известно, в современном языкознании далеко не все разновидности структурного сопоставления языков причисляются к разряду типологических.)

Содержательно ориентированная типология делает особенно очевидными структурные различия разнотипных языков. В частности, именно с ее позиций легко показать, что целый ряд лексических и грамматических категорий, за традиционной популярностью которых отчетливо выступает все еще непреодоленная тенденция служить едва ли не универсальным средством лингвистического описания (ср. понятия глагольной переходности — непереходности, залога, именительного падежа и некоторые другие), фактически адекватны для характеристики лишь одного из языковых типов — номинативного.

Так, выявленное в представителях активной типологии разбиение глаголов на активные и стативные сразу же поставило под сомнение правомер-

ность обычной квалификации распределения глаголов в эргативных языках на транзитивные и интранзитивные, как это имеет место в номинативных языках (об этом обстоятельстве позволяло догадываться и отсутствие в морфологии первых элементов, специально ориентированных на передачу субъектно-объектных отношений). В этой связи следует заметить, что и на материале некоторых относительно хорошо изученных эргативных языков обнаружено имеющееся в них весьма существенное несоответствие между семантическими и структурными признаками транзитивности — интранзитивности: здесь налицо не только «дополнительные» классы лабильных (т. е. «переходно-непереходных»), аффективных и некоторых других глаголов, но и значительная группа семантически транзитивных глаголов (*бить, ударять, толкать, хватать, тянуть, тащить, щипать, кусать, целовать* и мн. др.), структурно трактуемых как интранзитивные (ср. Яковлев, Ашхамаф 1941, 68—71). Это сомнение поддерживается и давно замеченным фактом отсутствия залоговой дифференциации глагола в этих языках. В последнем отношении заслуживает пристального внимания мнение тех лингвистов, которые полагают, что основной принцип организации глагольной лексики сводится в эргативной системе к оппозиции так называемых агентивных и фактививных глаголов (Кибрик 1976, 34—35). Любопытно, что еще в довольно ранних кавказоведческих исследованиях встречается распределение глагольных лексем на классы «псевдопереходных» и «псевдонепереходных» (Дюмезиль 1932, 49 и 156). Если такое решение вопроса окажется окончательным, то придется отказаться и от обычно практикующегося в синтаксисе эргативных языков разделения дополнения на прямое и косвенное.

С расширением представлений типологии об эргативной и активной системах все острее встает и задача систематического описания структурных импликаций номинативного строя, которые, как это ни парадоксально, пока еще не послужили объектом сколько-нибудь обобщающего исследования. Должно быть очевидным, впрочем, что эмпирическая база последнего не может ограничиваться хорошо описанными номинативными языками Евразии.

Хотя к числу номинативных, эргативных и активных принадлежит огромное большинство языков мира, возможное структурное разнообразие языков ими не исчерпывается. Отсюда вытекает необходимость выявления характеристик и других представленных в языковой действительности типов.

Наконец, в заключение целесообразно сделать одно замечание диахронического порядка. С прогрессом типологического исследования возникает соблазн постулировать различные содержательные типы языков в некоторую историческую перспективу. К этому побуждает не только соотношение глубинных стимулов активного (оппозиция: актив ~ инактив), эргативного (оппозиция: агентив ~ фактивив) и номинативного (оппозиция: субъект ~ объект) строя, по-видимому, обозначающее последовательное приближение к противопоставлению субъектного и объектного начал, но и соотношение

некоторой совокупности языковых явлений формального плана. Так, среди последних бросается в глаза, что парадигма именного склонения, по существу еще неразвита в языках активной типологии, способна достигать широкого развития в эргативных и номинативных языках (при этом интересно, что лишь в номинативных языках возможна максимальная представленность так называемых грамматических падежей). Только в эргативных и номинативных языках встречаются такие явления как глагольный инфинитив, класс имен прилагательных и т. п. Необходимо подчеркнуть и то обстоятельство, что немногочисленные попытки неисторической трактовки соотношения этих языковых типов предполагают, что различная содержательная ориентация языковых структур может обуславливаться изменениями чисто формального порядка, и к тому же не проводят различия между языковым типом и его отдельными структурными импликациями, например, между эргативным строем языка и эргативной конструкцией предложения (ср. Андерсон 1977).

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TYPOLOGY IN LINGUISTICS

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1. Introduction¹

In the past fifteen or so years, language typology has increasingly become a research area of central interest within general linguistics everywhere in the world. The large number of recent papers, books, conferences, and research projects on the topic² all testify to a growing awareness of the significance of the concept of language type on the part of scholars of language.

Parallel to the appearance of substantive, empirical language-typological studies, there have also appeared a fair number of works that deal with the theory and methodology of linguistic typologies, discussing various aspects of the what's, why's, and how's associated with this field of research.³ The

¹ This paper was written for the proceedings of the Workshop on Language Typology held in June 1979 in Debrecen, Hungary. I am grateful to Jessica Wirth for fruitful discussions on language typologies.

² See for instance the Stanford Project on Language Universals and their publication series Working Papers on Language Universals, 1-20, 1969-1976; the Kölner Universalienprojekt and their publication series Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projekts, 1-35, 1973-1979 and continuing; the 1961 Dobbs Ferry Conference on Language Universals and its Proceedings (Joseph H. Greenberg, ed., Universals of Language. Cambridge, Mass. 1963; the 1967 Texas Conference on Universals of Linguistic Theory and its Proceedings. In: Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms (eds), Universals in Linguistic Theory. New York-Chicago 1968; the Chicago Linguistic Society Parasection on Relative Clauses and on Complement Clauses and their Proceedings. In: The Chicago Which Hunt. Papers from the Relative Clause Festival. 1972, You Take the High Node and I'll Take the Low Node. Papers from the Comparative Syntax Festival. 1973; the 1974 and 1975 Santa Barbara Conferences on Language Typology and their Proceedings. In: Charles N. Li (ed.), Word Order and Word Order Change. Texas University Press 1975, Charles N. Li (ed.), Subject and Topic. Academic Press 1976; or the Soviet studies on causativity in A. A. Xolodovič (ed.), Типология каузативных конструкций. Морфологический каузатив. Leningrad 1969, and on the passive voice in A. A. Xolodovič (ed.), Типология пассивных конструкций: диатезы и залог. Leningrad 1974, to mention only a few.

³ See, for instance, a number of Joseph H. Greenberg's studies (Greenberg 1957, 1966, 1974, 1978a, 1978b), Gabriel Altmann and Werner Lehfeldt's book on typology (Allgemeine Sprachtypologie. München 1977), the proceedings of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft's International Conference on Language Universals held in 1976 (Arbeiten des Kölner Universalien-Projekts 25. 1976 and Hansjakob Seiler (ed.), Language universals. Tübingen 1978, or Paulo Ramat's 1978 paper Problemi della tipologia linguistica. In: Incontri Linguistici 4 [1978] 2, 127-157).

present paper belongs to this second kind. Whereas it is not a polemic paper, nor is it felt to be particularly innovative, its hoped-for contribution to the literature is that it is an attempt at a synthesis of at least some of what has already been said on the topic. More specifically, my goal is to provide a comprehensive, systematic, and principled account of the possibilities and necessities of typological research in linguistics.

First, in section 2, I will try to define the range of logically possible applications of the concept of type within linguistics and thus call attention to the various areas where linguists may look for typological generalizations. Then, in section 3, I will attempt to show that typological work in linguistics is motivated not only by its being a possible domain of inquiry but also by its being a necessary one that is required by the overall commitments of the science of general linguistics. Section 4. will summarize our conclusions.

2. Possible linguistic typologie

2.1. The concept of type in general

When we talk about types in linguistics, we are in effect applying a concept of very wide relevance to a particular substantive field of inquiry. Thus, if we want to survey the possible range of linguistic types, it will be useful if we first consider the general, linguistics-independent characteristics of the concept of type.

I will take a type simply to be a properly included subclass within a class. In other words, it is a subclass of things that share a set of (one or more) properties that other members of the class do not share with them. For example, red carnations constitute a type within the class of carnations, people are a type of animal, and planets are a type of heavenly body.

If a type is a properly included subclass of a class, then it follows that the characterization of any type will have to include two fundamental ingredients: the characterization of the superordinate class, or the domain of the typology, and the characterization of the subordinate class, or the type. When we talk about red carnations, the term "carnation" refers to the domain and the term "red" delimits the type. For planets, the domain may be defined by the property of being a heavenly body and the type may be defined by the property of revolving around a sun. The property set that describes the domain of a typology will be called the generic property set. The property set that describes the domain of a typology will be called the specific property set.

Specifying the generic and specific properties does contribute to the definition of the domain and of the type; but these two kinds of properties do not exclusively provide for such definitions. First of all, the domain of the ty-

pology is always (explicitly or implicitly) associated with temporal and spatial coordinates which locate the class in question within our world. Compare, for instance, the following type-defining sentences:

- a) *Some dresses are gaudy-looking.*
- b) *Some dresses in Paris are gaudy-looking.*
- c) *Some dresses in my closet are gaudy-looking.*
- d) *Some dresses of the turn of the century were gaudy-looking.*

In sentence a), the domain consists of all dresses occurring anywhere and at any time in the world. The remaining three, however, have more restricted domains: b)'s domain is just those dresses that one see in Paris nowadays; c)'s domain is the class of those dresses that are in my closet at the present time; and d)'s domain includes those dresses that were worn around the turn of the century. The generic property set describing the domain is the same in each case: the property of being a dress; but whereas this qualitatively defined domain remains unlimited in a), the domains in b), c) and d) are various temporally and spatially limited slices of it.

The domain of a typology is thus fully defined by two kinds of specifications: that of the generic property set and that of the temporal and spatial coordinates that locate the (properly or improperly included) portion of the class that has been chosen as of relevance. Similarly, a type is also not solely defined by a qualitative property set. Consider, again, some examples.

- a) *Some carnations are red.*
- b) *Many carnations are red.*
- c) *30% of the carnations are red.*
- d) *Every third carnation is red.*
- e) *Carnations tend to be red.*
- f) *Carnations are generally red.*

What is common to all of these is that the domain is the class of all carnations and the type's specific property is redness. They differ, however, in that each statement assigns a somewhat different quantitative characterization of the type and its complement. According to b), e), and f), the number of red carnations is larger than that of the non-red ones — i.e. the type is more extensive than its complement. In b) and c), the type class is smaller than the complement class. And a) simply remains non-committal about the proportion of the two classes. These examples illustrate that the type is defined by these two kinds of specifications: that of the specific property set, and that of the quantitative relationship between the type and its complement.

To summarize so far: in defining a type, we have to delimit a superordinate class and a properly included subclass. The supraordinate class, or the

domain of the typology, is defined by a generic property set in conjunction with spatial and temporal coordinates; and the type is defined by a specific property set in conjunction with some quantifier. The schema of a type-description is thus the following:

Among all those things that are G and are located at S/T,

Q are S and the others are non-S;

where G and S stand for qualitative property sets, S stands for spatial coordinates, T stands for temporal coordinates, and Q stands for some quantifier.

We have so far been focussing on definitional characteristics of types — i.e. on those that will, by necessity, have to be present in any typology. Next, we will consider how typologies can differ from each other. I will subdivide parameters of such variation into two large groups: substantive and logical.

When we say that typologies can be different from a substantive, or content, point of view, what we simply mean is that one can typologize (or classify; or taxonomize) many things in the world and in many different ways. In fact, since the characterization of a type involves only such very general concepts as "property", "class", "subclass", "space and time" and "quantity", the concept of type turns out to have unrestricted application to any set of phenomena in the world that has at least two non-identical members. Any such non-unary class can serve as a typology domain and any non-universally distributed property can define a type. Thus, one can appropriately talk not only about types of carnations, types of animals, types of heavenly bodies, or types of dresses, but also of types of societies, types of literatures, types of gestures, types of virtues and so forth. The wide range of spatio-temporal limitations that can be imposed on possible domains further adds to the substantive diversity of typologies. Thus, one can typologize the people of Milwaukee, or the people of Wisconsin, or the people of the Mid-West region of the United States; the people who lived in the US in the year of 1910; the people who visited Milwaukee in 1979; and so forth.

Let us now turn to the logical types of typologies. I can see three basic parameters for such variation. One is the logical nature of some of the crucial terms involved in the typology such as the generic and specific property sets, the temporal and spatial limitations on the domain, and the quantifier. The other is the relation of the given typology to other possible typologies within the same substantive area. The third is the epistemological status of the typology. I will next consider each of these three parameters in turn.

The first parameter is the logical nature of the terms involved in the typology. One of these terms is the one that defines the temporal and spatial limits imposed on the domain. Depending on the nature of this, typologies may be limited or not. An unlimited typology is one with a domain that is only qualitatively restricted — i.e. one that includes all members of the class defined by the generic property set regardless of where and

when they occur in the world. Typologies in the field of physics are I would think typically unrestricted: a statement such as *Some gasses are flammable* delimits the type of flammable gasses within the class of all gasses that occur any place in the universe and at any past, present, or future time. Social science typologies are, however, often time- and/or space-bound; e.g. the one given in the statement *Most of Europe's contemporary societies are capitalistic*.

The other basic term involved in typological descriptions is the quantifier which describes the relative sizes of the class that constitutes the type and that of its complement class. Depending on the choice of the quantifier, typologies may be quantified or not. When we say *Some people are bald*, the typology is unquantified since nothing is said about the relative size of the class of bald and the class of hairy people. Statistical reports, on the other hand, constitute good examples of quantified typologies; such as *70% of the population of country X is literate*.

As we saw above, in addition to temporal/spatial limiters and quantifiers, typologies involve reference to two property sets: the generic and the specific. We will now consider the possible variation in the logical nature of such properties. There are two things to note here. First, any property that participates in defining either the domain or the type may be either a one-place predicate such as *red* or *literate*, or they may be a many-place predicate, i.e. a relation, such as *bigger than X*. All the typological statements that we have seen so far involved one-place predicates, but the following has a relational predicate as defining the type: *A few of the mountains in Canada are taller than the mountains in Switzerland*. Second, domains of typologies may be defined by a single property — whether one-place or relational — or jointly by more than one. For instance, in the sentence *Most people who are both smokers and also live a sedentary life suffer heartattacks* the domain is defined as that subclass of people which is at the intersection of the set of smokers and the set of those living a sedentary life; as opposed to a typology which says that some living being are plants, where the domain is defined by the single property of being a living being.⁴

This finishes our survey of the ways in which typologies can differ depending on the logical nature of the basic terms of the typology. We will now consider the second parameter of logical variability among typologies which, as mentioned above, has to do with the relationship of a given typology with other typologies.

⁴ Superficially, it would seem that statements such as *Some smokers have brown teeth and black lungs* — i.e. ones that involve a conjunction of properties in the type-defining set, are similar since here the type is defined, apparently, by a conjunction of properties, rather than the domain being so defined. But such examples are actually different since these can be analyzed into conflation of two distinct typological statements (*Some smokers have brown teeth. The same smokers also have black lungs*); whereas the statement *Most people who are both smokers and also live a sedentary life suffer heartattacks* cannot be similarly analyzed into two distinct typologies.

Typologies can be related to each in the sense that they involve some of the same or similar terms. That there can be typologies that are related in this sense simply follows from the fact that the relation between property sets and the typologies that can be built around them is not one-to-one. Given a particular property set, more than one typology can be constructed that includes it. This is for two reasons. First of all, whether a given property set will figure as the generic property set or as the specific property set in the typology — i.e. whether it will define the domain or the type — is by no means inherent in the property set itself. For instance, the attribute of maleness may define a type if the chosen domain is animals; but it may also serve to define the domain for a typology that subdivides male beings based on psychological characteristics. Only very general properties such as thingness or existence are restricted by nature to being only domain-defining properties; and only property sets that characterize individuals are necessarily restricted to serving only as type-defining characteristics. Second, not only is the “height” of a given property set in a typology not inherent in it, but also the choice of the other property set with which it occurs in the typology is not inherently given. Thus, carnations, for instance, can be typologized not only from the point of view of colour but also from the point of view of other properties such as size, fragrance, number of petals etc. Carnationhood as a domain-defining property can thus constitute typologies in conjunction with a whole variety of type-defining properties. Similarly, the choice of the generic property set is also not inherent in the specific property set: if we want to construct a typology in which colour figures as the type-defining property, there is a wide range of possible domains, such as carnations and roses and minerals and clouds etc. In other words, domains can be multiply classified and type-defining features can be multiply applied to different domains.

Of the various logically possible extensional and intensional inclusion relations that may hold with respect to the domains and types of two typologies, the simplest and perhaps most significant ones are the following three:

- a) two typologies share the same domain
- b) two typologies share the same specific property set
- c) the type of one typology is the domain of the other.

Because of such relationships, distinct typologies may be combined, or conflated, into more complex ones. Consider the following examples:

- a) *Planets may have water, atmosphere, and moons.*
- b) *Both individuals and societies may be amoral.*
- c) *Some bugs are insects and some insects are spiders.*

a) is a conflation of three distinct typologies each for the domain of planets. b) is a conflation of two typologies each using the property of amorality for another domain. And in c) the type defined by the first typology is the domain of the second. In those cases where the domains of distinct typologies are the same, the extensions of the types may be partly or fully identical; in particular, the membership of the two type classes may overlap, or one may include the other, or they may be exactly the same. Consider this statement: *All mammalian animals are viviparous*. This in effect involves two typologies for the same domain: *Some animals are mammalian* and *Some animals are viviparous*. In addition, it is asserted that the latter class includes the former.

Shared-domain typologies may be additionally related in a special way. Consider, for instance, a classification of people according to their relative height. In such a typology, each individual is assigned to a class which is defined by the property "*taller than X, Y . . . and shorter than, V, W . . .*", where X, Y . . . and V, W . . . jointly constitute the total set of people considered except for the individual of which the property is predicated. In this case, the type-defining property is defined as making reference to individuals outside the specific type class. Typologies that are related in this way amount to scales. They really show the distribution of various degrees of the same property for a class of things. Types along the scale may also be assigned numerical values; such as having 5' 11" height. Although comparative and quantitative scales have generally been sharply distinguished from classification in the literature (cp. Hempel 1965, 151f), I fail to see the crucial difference since comparative and quantitative scales appear to be always mutually convertible and either kind may also be converted into a categorial classification. For example, one may classify, or typologize, roses according to how red they are either on a comparative scale by the property type "*more red than X, Y . . . but less red than V, W . . .*", or by assigning numerical degrees of redness to each, or by choosing category labels for each degree of redness that occurs such as "*deep red*", "*pale red*", "*pink*", etc.

In addition to the logical nature of the terms of a typology and in addition to the relationship of a typology to other similar ones, there is one more general parameter which defines logical variability among typologies. This may be called the epistemological status of a typology. What this has to do with is simply whether the typology is a necessary one — i.e. whether it follows from something else — or whether it is not. For instance, the typological statement *Some people are dead* which defines a subclass of human beings as consisting of dead ones is a necessary one since the definition of the concept "people" must include that such individuals have a limited life span. On the other hand, the fact that some people have dark skin is not a necessary typology since it does not follow from the definition of human beings that some members of the class be dark-skinned.

In this section, we have considered the essential and the variable properties of typologies in general. We have seen that a type is always a properly included subclass within a class and that typologies may differ both substantively and also logically, the latter having to do with the logical nature of the terms involved in the typology, with the relationship of the given typology to others, and with the epistemological status of the type defined. We are now ready to consider the range of linguistic localizations of the concept "type".

2.2. The concept of type in linguistics

When we talk about types in linguistics, we are talking of a substantively delimited subtype of the general concept of type. Any type will be considered a linguistic(ally relevant) one if it is a type within the class of those things that constitute the domain of linguistics.

The question of what constitutes the domain of linguistics depends to a large extent on the investigator's view of his field and of language in general. I will assume that linguistics is a field of enquiry which studies the nature of human verbal utterances. Given this view, it follows, that all linguistic typologies will have to be typologies of human verbal utterances. The class "all human verbal utterances" will thus be the maximal typological domain within linguistics. Although this class can be considered as a type, rather than as a typological domain, such as within the more comprehensive class of communicative structures, or within that of human institutions, within linguistics the class can only serve as a typological domain.

If all linguistic typologies are typologies of linguistic utterances, then the only ways in which they can vary among themselves in a substantive way are by the choice of the temporal-spatial limitations used to define a typological subdomain and by the choice of properties that are chosen to define subdomains and types. The possible range of properties defining subdomains and types within linguistic typologies is the same as the range of properties that linguistic utterances can have. I will therefore next consider what these properties are.

According to the view adopted in this paper,⁵ linguistic utterances are symbolic instruments. In other words, they are objects that constitute the intersection of two larger classes of things: the class of symbols and the class of tools. To say that linguistic utterances are symbols is just to say that they have both form and meaning. In this regard, they are akin to traffic lights or hand gestures or facial expressions and different from, say, minerals or birds. To say that linguistic utterances are tools is to capture the fact that they are used by human beings for communication. In this sense, they are like hammers and scissors and elevators and unlike mountains or galaxies.

⁵ Most of this section reflects the view of language underlying the theory of equational grammar; cp., for instance, Sanders 1972a, 1979, and 1980.

From the fundamental symbolicity and instrumentality of linguistic utterances it follows that they should have three cardinal types of properties: structural, functional, and distributional. That utterances should have structural properties follows from their being symbolic objects; since symbolicity means having both form and meaning, utterances are not indivisible entities but consist of at least these two components — which is the same as saying that they have internal composition, or structure. That utterances should have functional properties follows from the assumption that they are instrumental objects since instrumentality, or the property of being used for something, is a function. And, thirdly, that linguistic utterances should have distributional properties simply follows from their being objects i.e. things that exist. What is meant by distributional properties is the specification of where exactly an object is located in the world — such as at what location and at what time; and anything that exists has some such specifications associated with it.

Since linguistic utterances thus have these three fundamental types of properties, it follows that linguistic typologies will be of four basic kinds. First, there are typologies that make reference to structural properties of utterances — i.e. structural typologies. Examples of statements describing such typologies may be these:

Some consonants are fricatives.

Some languages have subject-verb agreement. Second, there are typologies that make reference to functional properties of utterances — i.e. functional typologies. Examples:

Every language has some taboo words.

Some utterances can be used to comfort. Third, there are distributional typologies — those involving distributional features of utterances. Examples:

Some utterances are used above the Arctic Circle.

The class of utterances that characteristically occur in adult speech to children are also the ones that characteristically occur in speech to pets. And, fourth, there will be various kinds of mixed typologies — typologies that refer to more than one of the three cardinal property types. For example, the statement *Endearing style characteristically involves reduplication* refers both to structure and to function and the statement *Languages spoken above the Arctic Circle have no word for palm tree* refers both to structure and to distribution. We will now consider each of the four basic types of linguistic typology in more detail.

What kinds of structural typologies can we expect to be able to establish? The range of possible structural typologies depends on the range of possible structural properties of utterances. Given the basic symbolic character of utterances, structural properties will be, by necessity, at least of two kinds: form-related and meaning-related.

Meaning-related, or semantic, properties of utterances pertain to the idea that utterances convey. For the utterance *It is cloudy today*, semantic

properties are statementhood, being about weather, including a present tense. Other semantic properties may be: being a two-place predicate; referring to an animate being, expressing analytic truth, being a self-contradiction, some of which are properties of individual semantic constituents included in utterances, others refer to relations between semantic constituents of the utterance. Accordingly, examples of semantic typology may be the following:

Some utterances include three-place predicates.

Some utterances are analytic.

The concept "form-related property" can be taken in a more restrictive and in a less restrictive sense. In its narrow sense, linguistic form refers to p h o n e t i c form, or pronunciation; form-related properties, under this interpretation, are phonetic properties and the pertinent typologies are phonetic typologies.⁶ For the sentence *It is cloudy today*, some true phonetic properties are "starting with a front high lax vowel", "being six syllables long", or "including no aspirated sound". Some examples of phonetic typologies are these:

"All languages with four or more vowels have /i/ or /ε/" (Crothers 1978, 116).

"In initial systems (i.e. in word-initial consonant clusters) the presence of at least one combination of stop + stop implies the presence of at least one combination of stop + fricative (in the same language)" (Greenberg 1978c, 254).

"Languages which permit a sequence of unlike tones on a word or morpheme also permit like tones on a word or morpheme" (Maddieson 1978, 343).

The term "form" can also be interpreted in a wide sense when applied to linguistic utterances. Although phonetic form is the only kind of form in language that is directly observable, systematic analysis of meaning-sound relations in linguistic utterances reveals other aspects of structure which can also be appropriately regarded as form. In this more abstract sense, we can talk about phonological, syntactic (including morphological), and lexical form.

P h o n o l o g i c a l utterance properties may be "having non-redundantly voiced consonants" or "having predictable vowel height". Examples of phonological typologies are:

Some languages have non-redundantly voiced consonants.

Some languages have predictable vowel height.

S y n t a c t i c utterance properties are "having the subject before the verb", or "including an infinitive", or "having ergative case-marking". These are some actually proposed syntactic typologies: "There are many languages which have an ergative-absolutive system for nominal case-marking and a nominative-accusative system for verb-agreement" (Comrie 1978, 340).

⁶ In the case of written language, orthographic properties would be added to phonetic ones and typologies of such features, too, are possible.

"Subject-final languages generally do not have overt copulas" (Keenan 1978, 300).

"Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional" (Greenberg 1963, # 2).

L e x i c a l utterance properties pertain to intramorphemic or, possibly, also word-internal meaning-form relation; such as "having a single morpheme for 'man'", or "having no separate word for 'bank' as opposed to 'shore'". Examples of typologies within this domain may be these:

Some languages have a single morpheme for 'yellow'.

Some languages have a single morpheme to mean both 'leg' and 'foot'.

"In a language in which categories or proximity are employed to show degrees of respect or social distance, the one used to indicate greater physical distance or distance within discourse is also used to indicate greater respect or social distance" (Head 1978, 192).

While the typologies we have considered thus far concerning utterance structure all involved either phonetic or semantic or phonological or syntactic or lexical properties, it is conceivable that a typology should make reference to more than one of these aspects of utterance structure. The typology, for instance, according to which "OV languages tend to have simple syllables" (Lehmann 1978a, 23), or the one which says that "OV languages tend to have vowel harmony and progressive assimilation" (Lehmann 1978a, 23) both make reference both to syntactic and to phonetic or phonological properties.

Structural utterance properties and the associated typologies that we have considered thus far involved reference to single levels of utterance structure. A structural utterance property can also be defined, however, by the relation that holds between two different representational levels. This is exactly what happens when we talk about an utterance having undergone a grammatical rule. For instance, when we say that some languages have subject-verb agreement, what we mean is that some languages include at least some utterances that can each be described in terms of a sequence of representations which sequence includes one representation of the meaning of the sentence which shows no subject-marker associated with the verb, and another representation of the syntactic form of the sentence which, however, does show such a marker. Accordingly, there are not only representational typologies concerning utterance structure but also rule typologies. Examples:

Some languages have object-verb agreement.

All languages with object-verb agreement also have subject-verb agreement.

All languages that passivize on indirect objects can also passivize on direct objects.

All languages with word-initial devoicing also have word-final devoicing.

So far we have seen that structural properties of utterances and the associated typologies may pertain to single representations, or to relations

between representations (i.e. rules). Both of these have to do with single utterances. Structural utterance properties, however, may also be defined for sets of related utterances. Thus, for instance, in the realm of semantics, we can characterize a pair of utterances as synonymous, or as one entailing the other, or as one contradicting the other. Or, in the realm of phonetics, we can talk about sets of rhyming utterances, or about sets of alliterating utterances. There are, of course, possible associated typologies :

Some utterances are synonymous.

Some utterances rhyme.

This concludes our survey of structural utterance properties and structural typologies. We have seen that from the point of view of which aspect of utterance structure they involve, properties and typologies may be phonetic or phonological or lexical or syntactic or semantic or mixed among these ; and, from the point of view of how many representations and how many utterances are involved in defining the property in question, we can talk about representational properties, rule properties, and utterance-relation properties.

Let us now turn to the second of the four basic kinds of linguistic typologies : those that pertain to functional features of utterances. Utterance function has to do with what the speaker wants to achieve by talking. Such intended effects may be informing, or explaining, or expressing, or inducing certain kinds of action in the hearer, or initiating social relations with the hearer, or cutting off relations with the hearer, or hurting him, or comforting him, or diverting his attention from something, or entertaining him, or amusing him, or ridiculing him, or shocking him. Typologies can accordingly be constructed about the occurrence and correlations of such functions ; and, perhaps most significantly, about correlations between structural and functional properties of utterances. This possibility will be discussed under the label of mixed typologies.

The third kind of linguistic typology is distributional. What kinds of utterance properties are involved in these ? As mentioned earlier, the most basic distribution features that all existing things including linguistic utterances have are time and space specifications describing the location of the thing in question in the world. Any object of scientific investigation is "indexed" in this manner ; such as animals, or minerals, or artifacts. The manner, however, in which linguistic utterances are to be given such distributional characterizations is somewhat special in two ways. First it does not appear to be natural to say that linguistic utterances — i.e. discourses, sentences, words, etc. — "occur" ; rather, it is the interlocutors that occur. Thus, time and space coordinates describing the location of linguistic utterances in the world are really time and space coordinates describing the location of speakers and hearers who in turn use the utterances in question. This fact differentiates distributional characterizations of utterances from those of, say, animals or minerals ; but it does not differentiate them from those of, say, human artifacts

since those, too, are functional things that have users. In other words, the distribution of functional objects is perhaps always most naturally given in terms of the distribution of their users. Second, once we accept that it is the interlocutors that constitute the immediate distributional environment for utterances, one's attention is directed to the fact that utterances can be systematically different not only as correlated with the time and place of their speakers but also with other properties of their speakers, such as their age, their physical and psychological state, their sex, their social status, their educational background, their culture, their beliefs.

In addition to temporal-spatial coordinates and various social, cultural, psychological, and physical features of interlocutors, a distributional characterization of utterances may perhaps also include reference to the medium that is used in communication; such as voice or writing or telephone or telegraph. Concepts such as style, register, idiolect, dialect, and language are all distributionally defined utterance sets.

The significance of such enriched distributional characterizations of linguistic utterances emerges when we consider possible correlations between structural properties with distributional ones. This leads us to the fourth basic type of linguistic typology which we dubbed as *mixed* above. Mixed typologies pertain to correlations between structural and functional features; or between structural and distributional features; or among structural and functional and distributional ones. Let us see some examples.

There are clearly correlations between utterance function and both utterance meaning and utterance form. One may be that utterances that are used for greeting at least in many cases are structurally wishing, or optative, sentences or their abbreviations. Another one may be that taboo words perhaps in all languages include at least some that pertain to sex. A third one may be that utterances that are used to delight, again perhaps in all languages, include at least in some cases rhyme.

Correlations among structural and distributional properties abound. Thus, there are distinctive characteristics of casual versus fast speech, of "baby talk" (Ferguson 1978), of slips of the tongue, of aphasic speech, of children's language, or of telephone style. Such correlations have been hypothesized by linguists not only in relation to subsets of utterances within a language but also in relations of subsets of whole languages. Such was, for instance, Max Müller's attempt to correlated agglutination and "nomadic lifestyle", or Jespersen's attempt to consider structural features of English as reflecting "masculinity" and those of, say, Hawaiian as reflecting "femininity" (Jespersen 1956, chapter I), or attempts of the Marr school to correlate ergative versus nominative syntax with societal development (Kurylowicz 1973, 8), and, of course, Whorf's contention according to which structural features of language may be related to cognitive properties of their speakers.

Typologies pertaining to historical processes and those of borrowing are basically also mixed typologies. The typology, for instance, according to which *u* may become *i* in historical development but *i* may not become *u* is really a typology of temporally subsequent sets of languages and it says that whereas the type exists where the earlier language had *u* and the later had *i* in the same environments, the reverse type does not (Greenberg 1966, 515). Or, to take an example from borrowing, when we say that "no inflectional affixes can belong to the set of properties borrowed from a language unless at least one derivational affix also belongs to the set" (Moravcsik 1978, 112), we are really typologizing, again, language pairs that are in this case in a contact relationship and we are saying that the type where the borrowing language shares an inflectional affix with the lending language but not a derivational one does not exist.

Thirdly, let us see some examples for correlations between functional and distributional features. Some are offered in Stewart 1962 where it is pointed out that certain (functionally-defined) language varieties such as "literary" or "religious" language are generally correlated with certain (distributionally-defined) varieties such as "standard" or "classical" language.

This finishes our survey of the range of possible substantive subtypes of linguistic typologies. We have done this by surveying the range of possible utterance properties; any of these property kinds can then serve either to delimit a typological subdomain or to define a type. As we saw in the course of our general discussion of the concept "type", there are many subvarieties of typologies also from a logical point of view. In what follows, some linguistic examples of various logical types of typologies will be given.

As mentioned in section 2.1., typologies may be limited or not depending on whether the domain is temporally-spatially restricted or not. In linguistics most domains are limited in the sense that we make statements about languages — i.e. about utterance sets members of each of which are within the competence of a single temporally-spatially definable community of people. There are also other limit specifications that are commonly used in linguistics, such as in relation to dialects or other language varieties; or in relation to genetic or other classes of languages.

Linguistic typologies may be quantified or not, as typologies in general can. Some examples of quantified linguistic typologies are the following:

In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object. (Greenberg 1963, # 1)

With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional. (Greenberg 1963, # 4)

Passives are especially characteristic of SVO and VSO languages. (Lehmann 1978b, 173)

Languages with nine or more vowels generally have /o/. (Crothers 1978, 116)

With few exceptions, a language has postnominal restrictive relative clauses if and only if in the basic word order of the language verbs precede their objects. (Downing 1978, 383)

Question words and question particles may or may not occur in information questions with about equal frequency in languages of all types. (Ultan 1978, 232)

(The expression that is responsible for the statistical, or quantified, nature of the typology is italicized in each case.)

Although most typologies proposed have been "categorical", rather than comparative or numerical, Greenberg's typology of morphological complexity is an example of numerical indices defining each class (Greenberg 1960); and the following example is one of a comparative typology:

If L [one language] case marks (including adpositions and verbal case marking) to a greater extent than L' [another language], then the word order freedom of major NPs in L is greater than or equal to that of L'. (Keenan 1976, 137)

Many linguistic typological statements that have been proposed in the literature are complex in that they are conflation of several distinct typologies that share a domain. Some examples:

A nonpronominal relative marker in postnominal relative clauses is either a clause-initial particle or an affix on the verb. (Downing 1978, 390)

In initial systems [i.e. in word-initial consonant-clusters] the existence of at least one fricative + fricative combination implies the presence of at least one stop + fricative combination or at least one fricative + stop combination. (Greenberg 1978c, 225)

If the relative expression precedes the noun either as the only construction or as an alternative construction, either the language is postpositional or the adjective precedes the noun or both. (Greenberg 1963, # 24)

Many of those linguistic typological statements that conflate shared-domain typologies are of the implicational kind. Some of these implicational statements correlate properties of the same sentence, others correlate properties of related sentence sets such as of a paradigm, whereas others simply correlate properties of unrelated sentences within the same language. Examples, respectively, are these:

Inversion of statement order so that verb precedes subject occurs only in languages where the question word or phrase is normally initial . . . (Greenberg 1963, # 11)

No language has a trial number unless it has a dual. No language has a dual unless it has a plural. (Greenberg 1963, # 34)

Languages with VSO order are always prepositional. (Greenberg 1963, # 3)

The first of these predicts a property (the order of verb and subject) on the basis of another property (position of question word or particle) for

the same sentence type i.e. questions. The second makes predictions within the number paradigm but not within the same sentence. The third claims a correlation between two structural properties which are neither syntagmatically nor paradigmatically related.

3. The need for linguistic typologies

We have surveyed the wide range of possible linguistic typologies. Although the very fact that linguistic typology is a viable field of inquiry may by itself provide some motivation for actually engaging in this area of research, maybe one could also show that typological research points beyond itself — that is, that such research is actually required by some higher goal for the achievement of which it is an indispensable instrument.

Linguistics, as perhaps all sciences, has a purpose which really consists of two components. On the one hand, we know what it is that we want to find out something about and, on the other hand, we also have some idea of what “finding out” means — i.e. what sort of understanding we want to attain in relation to those phenomena. I will assume that the content-related component of the goal of linguistics is finding out about the nature of human verbal utterances — in particular, about the similarities and differences that they exhibit in relation both to each other and to other things in the world. The other component of our goal-specification — the one that pertains to the term “find out” — is one that is part of the goal-specification of all other sciences as well. This is that we want to both characterize and also explain the phenomena that fall within the domain of our study. So, in sum, the goal of linguistics is to describe and explain the similarities and differences that obtain among human verbal utterances, as well as those that obtain between human verbal utterances and all other phenomena in the world.

Does the attainment of this goal require typological work? It seems to me that such a definition of the goal of linguistics does provide very strong motivation for typological research. It has in fact two functions. First, it motivates typological research in general. Second, it also constitutes some guidance for typologists as to what kinds of typologies they should be primarily interested in establishing. In other words, it both places emphasis on typological work in general and it also puts selective emphasis on some kinds of typologies as opposed to others.

First let us see how this goal justifies typology in general. The part of the goal specification that is relevant here is that we want to investigate similarities and differences among things, since it is precisely similarities and differences among things that typological statements, by their very definition, are all about. As stated in the beginning of this paper, typological statements delimit a properly included subclass within a class by making reference to some

property set that members of that subclass exclusively share. In other words, they say: *Some but not all X-s are Y-s*. But what this amounts to is that we have both noted a similarity — among members of the subclass, or type — and also a difference — between members of the subclass, on the one hand, and the rest of the class, on the other. For instance, by the statement *Some foods are fattening but others are not* I am expressing the observation that the property of being fattening renders a subclass different from other foods. Typological statements in fact appear to be the only type of statement that have this character of stating both a similarity and also a difference. Other statement types — individual and universal ones — don't. Thus, an individual statement such as *This utterance has vowels*, or *English has subject-to-object raising* says nothing at all about similarities and differences; the first example is consistent both with other utterances also having vowels and also with other utterances not having vowels, just as the second example is consistent with other languages also having subject-to-object raising and also with other languages not having such a rule. Universal statements on the other hand, such as *All utterances have vowels* or *All languages have subject-to-object raising*, state some observed similarity between members of a class but no difference. In sum, then: the significance of typology within linguistics follows from the fact that in linguistics we are concerned both with similarities and also with differences among linguistic utterances. Typological statements are ideally suited for this purpose since, by definition, they always express limited, or non-universal, similarities within some domain.

Let us now turn to the second question and consider if, given the total range of both content-wise and also logically different typologies that one can possibly establish in linguistics, any of them will acquire superior significance over others in the light of our general goal-specification. The part of the goal specification that is relevant for this question is the metascientific part — the one that says that we want to explain. In other words, we want not only to describe the structural, functional, and distributional properties of human verbal utterances but we also want to know why these properties occur and why they are correlated the way they are. Given that we strive after explanations, it follows that those typological statements that turn out to be instrumental in explaining should be more highly valued than those that do not. There are I think two ways in which a statement can be an instrument of explanation. One is if it has explanatory function. The other is if it itself can be explained — i.e. if it is subsumable to some higher-level principle and thus proves to be an indispensable link in a chain of increasingly more and more comprehensive explanatory statements. Let us therefore consider what kinds of typological statements, if any, have explanatory power themselves and which are the ones that can further be explained. By answering these two questions we will have provided a principled rating of some typologies over others.

Can typological statements explain at all? This depends, of course, on what we mean by explaining. I will assume that a phenomenon is explained by a statement if the occurrence of that phenomenon necessarily follows from the statement, and if the occurrence of at least one other phenomenon also necessarily follows from the same statement. Let us now take a simple typological statement and let us see if it can explain anything; such as *Some sentences have terminal rising intonation and others don't*. Is there any conceivable phenomenon whose occurrence necessarily follows from this assertion? It seems to me that there isn't. Given any sentence with terminal rising intonation, the specific intonation pattern of the sentence is not explained. Since our statement says that some but not all sentences have terminal rising intonation, any specific sentence that we encounter would have an equal chance of having rising or non-rising intonation. Thus, simple typological statements do not explain.

That simple typological statements do not have explanatory power follows from the fact that they are existential statements; since existential statements never have such power. The kind of statement that can explain is the universal statement. E.g. the statement *All yes-no questions have terminal rising intonation* does explain, albeit only by simple instantiation, the occurrence of this intonation pattern in any given yes-no question: the occurrence of this intonation pattern in it necessarily follows from the statement.

If existential statements never explain but universal ones do, and if typological statements in their simplest form are, by necessity, existential statements, then typological statements can be made into explanatory ones only if they can be converted into, or embedded into, universal statements. Are there any ways of doing this? I can see two ways.

One way in which a typology can be endowed with explanatory power is by making it exhaustive for its domain. Let us take an example. Given the simple typological statement *Some but not all stops in Hawaiian are bilabial*, the stop or non-stop quality of no specific consonant in Hawaiian follows from it. If we are given a Hawaiian stop, we cannot, on the basis of this statement, predict if it will be bilabial or not. Notice, however, the following complex typology: *All stops in Hawaiian are either bilabial, or velar, or glottal, but nothing else*. This statement is the conflation of three simple typologies one saying that some stops in Hawaiian are bilabial, the other saying that some stops of this language are velar, and the third saying that some stops of this language are glottal. This complex statement does now have explanatory power. What it can explain, or predict, is that no Hawaiian stop will be something other than bilabial, velar, or glottal — such as alveolar. The statement acquired explanatory power by being a typology that is exhaustive for the whole domain of Hawaiian stops in a way in which our original statement about bilabial stops was not.

The second way in which a typological statement can be made explanatory also involves the conflation of simple typologies. This involves restricting the domain of one typology by means of another. For an example, consider the two simple typologies: *Some languages have verb-initial order* and *Some languages have prepositions*. Both statements are devoid of explanatory power: we cannot predict for any language if it will have verb-initial order or not and if it will have prepositions or not. However, observing the relationship between the two classes of languages as Greenberg did (1963, # 3) and noting that the class of prepositional languages properly includes the class of verb-initial ones, we can formulate a universal statement: *All verb-initial languages are prepositional*. This statement does have explanatory/predictive power: given a language that we know is verb-initial, we can predict/explain the fact that it will have prepositions. Notice, however, that this gain in explanatory power that we have achieved by conflating the two simple typologies involved restricting the original shared domain of the two typologies. The original domain was languages in general; but the domain of the resulting universal statement is just a subset of this original set of objects: it is the set of those languages that are verb-initial. For non-verb-initial languages, no prediction is provided by our statement: they may be either prepositional or non-prepositional. Explanatory power has thus been achieved by using one typology to restrict the domain of another.

Whereas in the above example a structural feature was used to restrict the domain of a structural typology, other — functional or distributional — features may also have the same effect. The statement *All languages have stops* is an example of a structural typology which is distributionally restricted with respect to the larger domain of linguistic utterances. If the occurrence of stops were to be described for this larger domain — the set of all linguistic utterances — all we could say is that some linguistic utterances have stops. We could not say that all utterances have them since this would not be true. However, it is possible to distributionally define certain utterance sets such that each will include at least some utterances with stops. Such distributionally defined utterance sets are languages; the resulting statement *All languages [= all language-size utterance sets] have stops* is now a universal one, although not for the domain of all linguistic utterances but only for the domain of all language-size utterance sets. A similar example is *All baby talk registers involve reduplication*. Here, again, a functional property is used to restrict the maximal domain of linguistic typologies — the set of all linguistic utterances — to one of which a universal statement about the occurrence of reduplicative patterns can be made.

What these examples show is that an important measure of how valuable a simple typology is is whether it can be correlated with other ones so as to provide for universal statements within some linguistic subdomain. In other

words, good typologies are the ones that define "interesting" classes of objects — interesting in the sense that something can be said of them. As Hempel points out in his seminal paper on taxonomy (Hempel 1965), what is involved in classification is basically concept, or term, formation. Concepts are only as good as they have "systematic import"; a classification is only as good as it "carves nature at the joints". Such considerations impose some guidance on what sorts of properties of linguistic utterances ought to be chosen for the type-defining property set. There are many conceivable such properties that would define types that would lead nowhere — i.e. which would not correlate with other properties. Such may be properties of utterances such as "including only vowels and fricatives", or "starting with a p".⁷

To summarize this part: although all typologies contribute to our basic endeavour in linguistics in the sense that they state both similarities and differences among linguistic utterances, those typologies that lend themselves to conflation into universal statements are more highly valued since they do not only state but also explain, to some extent, such similarities and differences. Typological statements can be conflated into universal ones either by putting them together into exhaustive typologies within some domain, or by using one typological statement to restrict the domain of another.

As pointed out above, there are two ways in which a statement can be instrumental in explanations: if it explains and if it can be explained. So far we have dealt with the explanatory power of typological statements; next we will consider how the desideratum of explainability provides further ranking criteria for linguistic typologies.

There are two relevant considerations. First, in order for a typology ever to be explained — i.e. for it ever to be capable of being a link in a chain of more and more inclusive explanatory principles — it has to be explainable in principle. This requirement lessens the value of simple typologies of the schema *Some (or most; or a few of; or 30% of) X-s are Y-s but others are not*, and heightens the value of complex typologies that involve universal assertions for some domain. A good example is the case of object-before-subject languages. Keenan in a very interesting paper (Keenan 1978) notes that there are only very few such languages in the world (languages, that is, where in neutral sentences objects precede subjects) — he actually knows of 11 only. Having described these languages, he then proceeds to try to explain why this word order pattern is so rare among the languages of the world. In other words, he seeks an explana-

⁷ For some discussion on significant and non-significant linguistic properties, see Sanders 1972b, esp. pp. 6ff. On p. 6 he gives a good zoological example of a non-significant property. This is what he calls "hirsupodality" and it is defined as "the mean number of hairs on its (the animal's) limbs is at least 42 per cent of the mean number of hairs on the rest of its body". It is indeed safe to assume that no other property of animals would correlate with this feature and thus "hirsupodality" would not lead to a fruitful and useful typology.

tion of the typological observation that only a few of the world's languages place objects in neutral sentences before the subject. The explanation he proposes is basically that this kind of word order is psychologically more difficult in that it places a larger burden on the hearer than the opposite order does. I feel, however, that this is not really an explanation. If the pattern is difficult, why does it exist at all? And if it is manageable by human processing capabilities, then why is it not as wide-spread as the opposite pattern? But the basic problem that I see is not with the particular explanation given by Keenan but, rather, with the very question that is asked — i.e. why are there only a few languages that have object before subject order — since I cannot see how such a quantified typology can be explained at all. What would be a conceivable statement from which the truth of this observation would necessarily follow? Thus, in spite of its intuitively-felt interest, this typology is not a useful one on the long run.

In addition to requiring that typologies be in principle explainable, another desideratum may be that typologies should be plausible — i.e. to have a good chance to be actually explained. From this point of view, typological correlations between, say, different aspects of constituent order would appear better than one that asserts a correlation between some syntactic and some phonological property; although it has to be admitted that the latter kind is more intriguing precisely because it appears less plausible.

In conclusion: typologies in linguistics are indispensable since they point at similarities and differences among linguistic utterances. Among the various logically possible typologies, those that have explanatory power and those that are explainable are more highly valued than those that are not.⁸

4. Conclusions

Linguistic typologies are local applications of the general metascientific concept of typology. This paper has adopted a set of assumptions about the things and properties that are of interest to linguists and based on these assumptions attempted to enumerate the total range of logically possible linguistic typologies as well as to delimit some ways in which different typologies within linguistics can be rank-ordered by significance.

The general concept of type was defined as a properly included subclass within a class. What it takes to define a type is to list the generic properties that define the domain along with space and time limits, and to list the specific

⁸ For a revealing discussion of how typological generalizations (both about languages and about historically related language sets) can be used to simplify the formulation of universal grammars and at the same time to explain crosslinguistic similarities and differences described by such grammars, see Sanders 1970, 97—116 and 1972b, 10—16.

properties that define the type together with a quantifier. Typologies can differ both content-wise and also from a logical point of view, the latter having to do with the logical nature of the four basic terms involved in defining a type, with the relationship of the given typology to other typologies, and with the epistemological status of the typology.

Linguistic typologies are always typologies of linguistic utterances. They may be of four basic types: structural, functional, distributional, or mixed. Structural typologies may be phonetic or phonological, or lexical, or syntactic, or semantic, or combinations of these; and they may refer to single utterance representations, or to rules, or to relations among utterances. They can also exhibit various logical types.

Typologies within linguistics are not only possible but also necessary. Any typological statement is valuable since, by definition, it will incorporate some observation about similarities and differences among linguistic utterances. Those typological statements, however, that have explanatory value and that are capable of being explained themselves are more significant than the others.

Linguistic typology thus reveals itself as a vast territory whose boundaries, however, can be outlined and within which valleys, hills, and peaks are readily distinguishable.

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ON THE HISTORY OF TYPOLOGY: RECENT ISSUES AND TRENDS

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In today's discussion on the nature of the universals of language, as well as on the method(s) of approaching them, and consequently linguistic typology it is not difficult to see the continuation of a long-standing discussion, which has always characterized linguistic research and more generally the epistemological and methodological debate of science (at least of western, European science): is the scientific approach inductive or deductive? This dualism appears again and again under the headings of 'idealism/realism', 'realism/formalism', 'theory-oriented/data-oriented approach' — and, first but not least, *nómos/phýsis*.

Both positions derive from a preliminary choice which is often made unconsciously under the pressure of personal inclinations and beliefs. Typological studies are not — nor have they ever been — free from such personal choice, either.

On the one hand, a formal paradigm considers language as an abstract object; and grammar is consequently seen as a system of formal syntactical rules to be applied independently of the possible meanings and usages of the constructs under scrutiny.

On the other hand, language is viewed as a tool of social interaction, building up a communicative link among the members of a community or building up the community 'tout court'.

S. Dik has recently summarized the differences between the two paradigms — the formal and the functional ones — in a clear schema (Dik 1978, 4-5). A set of differences, viz. oppositions derives from the very definition of language (formal: a language is a set of sentences/functional: a language is an instrument of social interaction). Concerning language universals, the opposition can be stated as follows: formal: "language universals are to be regarded as innate properties of the human organism"; functional: "language universals are to be explained in terms of the constraints inherent in (i) the goals of communication, (ii) the biological and psychological constitution of language users, (iii) the settings in which language is used".

To the oppositions underlined by Dik at least another one must be added on the methodological plane: the formal paradigm is (mostly) deductive, while the functional one is (mostly) inductive.

Both positions are perfectly correct, and Chomsky is obviously right when he underlines the necessity of a procedure for abstract formalisations; it is not possible to proceed empirically without having a theoretical hypothesis on what constitutes a language as a starting point of our analysis. From this point of view, linguistics is a deductive science and a universal grammar will indeed be the set of principles characterizing the class of possible grammars and imposing rigid restraints on the proliferation of possible rules, as Chomsky maintains. I will examine the shortcomings of Chomsky's one-sided approach later on.

The two positions as sketched above are well exemplified by the dominant viewpoints emerging in the course of two recent conferences on universals, which proved to be of prime importance for the revival of linguistic studies on typology and language universals: I mean the Dobbs Ferry Conference on Language Universals, April 1961, and the Symposium on Universals in Linguistic Theory held at the University of Texas in Austin, April 1967.

As Ch. Ferguson rightly points out, the universals emerging from the first conference were chiefly non-definitional, statistical, and implicational, whereas Austin's universal turned out to be definitional, non-statistical, and non-implicational (Ferguson 1978, 12 and 16) — as it was to be expected from the very title of the Symposium ('Universals in Linguistic Theory', not Universals of Languages!).

Clearly, the position maintaining the statistical, empirical nature of the universals goes back to the Bloomfieldian statement that "the only useful generalizations about language are inductive generalizations" (Bloomfield 1933, 20). In fact "when we have adequate data about many languages, we shall have to return to the problem of general grammar and to explain these similarities and divergences, but this study, when it comes, will be not speculative but inductive" (*ibid.*, 20).

On the other hand, the definitional, non-statistical consideration of language universal of the Chomskyan frame of reference has an antecedent in L. Hjelmslev, though this link has never been recognized either by Chomsky or by any other transformationalist (see, however, Itkonen 1974). According to Hjelmslev, a theory will say nothing about its applicational possibilities; we can only deduce 'theorems', i.e. logical implications, from the premises: "A theory (. . .) is in itself independent of any experience. In itself, it says nothing at all about the possibility of its application and relation to empirical data (. . .) It constitutes (. . .) a purely deductive system" (Hjelmslev 1963, 14). Cp. Chomsky 1977, 195 (transl. by P. R.) "To my mind the observation of many facts in many languages in order to test whether the universal condition (e.g. that of specified subject) does function or not would be of very limited interest. If the condition lies to a certain level of abstraction and generality, no 'phenomenon' will in fact be able to disprove it: only the rules can do it.

We must therefore begin with establishing a system of rules and see whether they are compatible with the condition. Every other procedure is meaningless''.

The similarity between Hjelmslev and Chomsky is of course limited to the methodological procedure, whereas their philosophical premises are quite different. And in fact we are here neglecting the assumptions on the innateness of linguistic universals and the tacit knowledge of them which pertain more to the philosophical or ideological frame of reference than to the methodological procedure of the generative theory; see for criticism G. Ruggiero 1978, 465—9, who rightly points out the Chomskyan confusion between general laws of the theory and linguistic properties common to all linguistic systems. The way of reasoning is tautological: the formal properties of general grammar are said to be universal because they describe the universal features of the innate schema of language, but this schema is in its turn universal since it is established by the grammar which is universal per definitionem. In other words, we are here faced with the confusion between the theoretical universality of the model and its empirical generalisation.

Of course I am not saying that the theory on one side and reality on the other one are two independent things, having no relation whatsoever to each other. The theory, which in itself does not depend on practical validation, is checked against reality for reasons of economy: since a theory is elaborated in order to understand real facts, a theory which does not provide an explanation for them and does not reflect them is a useless theory, though we cannot say that real facts prove it to be false. Between the theory and facts there exists a dialectic correlation and the properties assumed in the theoretical model must correspond to those of the objects studied. The concepts of the theory as a form of scientific definition and as a method of scientific research have thus a correlation with the properties of the real objects and the universal character of a definition depends on its applicability (see Kolschanski 1975, 455f).

But Chomsky's search for linguistic universals is motivated only by the fact that it is up to now impossible to formulate a hypothesis on the innate schemas which is strong and specific enough to explain language acquisition. Hence, he says, the main task of a linguistic theory which aims to be explanatorily adequate will consist of describing language universals and attributing them to the tacit knowledge of the language learning child. Consequently the study of language universals is the study of the properties of every generative grammar of a natural language (Chomsky 1965, § 5).

It is clear that here we are making no progress either in the definition of the universals, or in the practical search for them, but we are simply assuming the universal validity of the generative theory and of its tenet of a tacit knowledge of some universally valid linguistic rules.

Take for instance the fundamental rewriting rule

$S \rightarrow NP \text{ Aux VP};$

it is known that it has been given as ordered and as if languages were fundamentally SVO in structure, as is the case with English.¹ "Yet this segment of the grammar is supposedly specific to individual languages and should not regulate patterns that are fundamental in a large proportion of the languages of the world. The purported deep structure in these grammars then is far removed from a universal, innate pattern" (Lehmann 1978, 50). And, in fact, the generativist studies have also arrived at the conclusion that "a system of universal grammar (. . .) is basically unordered and can only be described in terms of sets [and not of ordered sequences] and wild trees. Order may be introduced into this unordered base as early as a specific language type [my emphasis] permits" (Staal 1967, 71; for further discussion see Ramat 1978, § 6).

Within the generativist framework typology is practically useless since the aim of GTG is to arrive at the universal properties of all possible human languages; and very few generativist typological studies could indeed be quoted (as e.g. Ross' on 'gapping').

This is one of the reasons — and certainly not a minor one — why a branch of the generativist movement strived to extend practical research beyond the limits of English. In doing so the researchers concerned were immediately faced with very different phenomena from those common to the American and English landscapes, and were therefore compelled to move the linguistic universality to a deeper level. I am clearly referring to the so-called 'semanticists' and to Fillmore's 'Case Grammar' where case relationships are primitive terms of the base structure and the centrality of syntax is plainly reaffirmed. Such semantically relevant syntactic relationships involving nouns and the structures that contain them "form a specific finite set, and (. . .) observations made about them will turn out to have considerable cross-linguistic validity" (Fillmore 1968, 5). "The view of universal grammar which is emerging is something like this: In their deep structure, the propositional nucleus of sentences in all languages consists of a V and one or more NP's, each having a separate case relationship to the P (and hence to the V). The most straightforward deep-structure commonalities between languages are to be sought at this 'deepest' level" (ibid. 51f; for criticism, especially for the confusion between semantic and/or syntactic criteria see Ruggiero 1978, 476).

The subsequent crisis of Case Grammar is well known, but it is nevertheless noteworthy that the typological remarks constituting § 4 of Case for Case

¹ In fact, this rule has never explicitly been asserted as being universal; yet all speculations on the so-called 'Passive Transformation' have actually moved from the tacit assumption of such a universal rule.

(a quite new and unorthodox fact in the panorama of generative studies!), like topicalization processes, word order possibilities etc., did constitute the very subject matter of many typological studies and that the case categories proposed by Fillmore are basically still accepted by many typologists (see e.g. Lehmann 1972, 248f and 1978, 44).

In the same years the British linguistic school with its strong philosophical and logical tradition, attempted to arrive at the 'deepest level' that the shortcomings of the GT had proved to be necessary, in another way. In his contribution to the collective volumes on Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of sciences J. Lyons dealt with some 'semantic primitives' like Existence, Location, Possession and Transitivity (Lyons 1968), whereas E. Keenan at the Bologna Congress of Linguists presented a paper on the logical status of deep structures, examining the logical constraints on syntactic processes and arguing that, for instance, the logical structure of relative clauses should consist of head noun phrase and a sentence containing a pronominal reference to the head noun phrase (Keenan 1974, 489). From the logical representation of relative clauses — (every student, *x*) (*x* was surprised (*x* passed the exam)) for *Every student who was surprised that he passed the exam* — some psychological consequences derive explaining, among other things, why pronoun retaining strategies hold up better under stress than pronoun deleting ones, so that a general principle can be formulated of 'Conservation of Logical Structure': "the more a syntactic process preserves logical structure the greater the range of such structures expressible in surface" (ibid. 482).

The universals of language are thus no longer located in the innate grammar of the speaker; they depend rather on logical semantics. Meaning represent the logical and semantic basis for languages and they can be represented in terms of logical structures; the semantic core of the verbal predicate is implemented in different ways depending on the semantic meaning of the subject NP (see Keenan 1978, 94f). This logical and semantic approach provides us with some insights into the way language structures are perceived by the speakers, as we have seen in the case of the principle of 'Conservation of Logical Structures'. Psycholinguistics — which Chomsky has often referred to but never consistently exploited since, as he says, we know too little about the psycholinguistic mechanisms — thus plays an important rôle in the search for language universals: see e.g. the suggestion of an 'Accessibility Hierarchy' reflecting the psychological ease of comprehension: according to this principle a relative clause will be more easily understood when referred as the subject than when referred as the object since subjects are already independently referring expressions and in the accessibility hierarchy they come before direct and indirect objects. This provides an explanation why some languages shift from relative clause formation as genitive to relative clause formation as subject: cp. French *la femme dont le manteau a été volé*, Swed. *kvinnan, vars kappa blev*

stulen → *la femme qui s'est fait voler le manteau, kvinnen, som fick sin kappa stulen* 'who got her coat stolen' (Keenan—Comrie 1977, 91).

One can criticize the rather intuitionist way some definitions are given (e.g. that of 'subject of': cp. Johnson 1977; Ramat 1978), but the advantages of this approach for universals and typological studies become evident when the approach itself is compared with the Chomskyan approach. The perception strategies as evidenced by recent psycholinguistic studies (Bever 1970, Leont'ev 1967, etc.) and hence the functionalist basic view (see below) starting from meanings and meaning vehiculation, but not from syntactic relations, are fully incorporated in a more comprehensive consideration of human language, including the psychological dimension.

Whether a concept such as 'subject of' really pertains to the universal grammar and whether such a definition is really needed in a universal grammar in order to allow us to identify subjects of arbitrary sentences from arbitrary languages, as Keenan maintains (Keenan 1976, 332) — that is a question which involves the very definition of 'Universal Grammar'. It is not possible to discuss this topic here.

Most important, however, is the attempt to refer the polymorphic phenomenology of many different languages to a common denominator, namely the logical basis of the semantic relations. This is, in my eyes, the only way of arriving at universally valid statements and consequently improving typological research, of a non-taxonomic nature.

Two other conferences deserve to be mentioned in this short sketch of recent developments in typological and universals studies. I am referring to the Szeged Colloquium on 'Theoretical Problems of Typology and the Northern Eurasian Languages' (Budapest 1970) and to the Prague 'Symposium on Typology' whose (selected) proceedings have been published in the 'Acta Universitatis Carolinae' (Philologica 5: Prague 1974).

Both offered the opportunity of comparing Eastern and Western studies and can thus be, to a certain extent, considered as forerunners of our present meeting.

In his introductory remarks during the Szeged Colloquium, Greenberg noticed "the emphasis on the description of each language in terms of categories inherent in the language itself so that its internal structure might be made manifest" and labelled this trend as "a reaction against *grammaire générale* with its imposition from sources external to the language, as it were, of *a priori* schemes believed to derive from the very nature of coherent discourse and to have a basis in universal logic" (Greenberg 1970, 11f). In connection with this we must keep in mind the American tradition of ethnolinguistics (Boas, Sapir) dealing with the large variety of Indian languages which seemed at a first glance to differ from each other without limits and in unpredictable ways (cp. Telegi 1970, 31, quoting M. Joos).

Nevertheless, a great difference between today's typology and previous approaches lies in the fact that we pursue, as Greenberg himself correctly states, a generalizing goal, in the sense that when reviewing a phenomenon, e.g. interrogative sentences, in many languages we posit the general question: what are properly interrogative sentences, how do they function, rather than asking 'how is the interrogative expressed in Russian or in Chinese' (see Greenberg 1978, 40). This is doubtlessly an improvement we owe to the generative theory with its concept of deep structure, connected — as we shall see below — with the fact that the evaluative prejudice has been abandoned in dealing with different languages.

And at the same Szeged Colloquium Khrakovski, when he briefly presented the methods and the provisional achievements of the Leningrad research group — i.e. of a scientific tradition which, like the American one, has always been confronted with a great variety of languages and with the practical and theoretical problems coming from them — actually spoke of a universal syntactic deep structure, the task of typology being that of establishing the ways in which the elements of such a structure are represented in surface syntactic-morphological constructions by units of form (morphemes, parts of sentences and particles) (Khrakovski 1970, 82).

Here we are not far from the concept of language, of every language, as a problem solving system, i.e. a system existing to solve the problems of communicating in a historically and socially determined community; this conception represents the starting point of the Cologne UNITYP-Project. It is no chance that both the Leningrad and the Cologne groups speak of 'techniques' employed to cope with the problems of expressing, at the surface level, underlying universal semantic and/or syntactic contents.

We can label this approach 'functionalist'. Language — as Seiler writes in his introductory paper to our meeting — is understood as a system of operational plans which afford solutions to specific problems raised by communicating through language.

There are of course divergences between the two approaches and their goals, and I wonder, for instance, whether Seiler would agree to consider, the types *The boy* (Subj.) *broke* (Pred.) *the window* (Obj.₁) and *A little girl* (Subj.) *began to read* (Pred.) *an interesting picture book* (Obj.) as linguistic universals. But the main point is that both approaches consider the surface facts as the outcoming solution of strategies of expression, saying nothing about a hypothetical deeper knowledge of grammatical rules.²

² Note that this is by no means a refusal of constraints and of properties of universal value depending on the biological foundations of the 'faculté de langage'. Criticism is only directed at the mentalistic assumption of a tacit knowledge of grammar (i.e. of the theory of grammar) by the speaker without any distinction between practical knowledge of facts and their theoretical formalization. See Itkonen 1975; 400: "... from the fact

Moving from a semantic basic structure and its logical representation in terms of PREDicates and ARGuments "there is no insertion procedure for predicates into pre-established base structure of any kind" (Dik 1978, 54). This is the main difference between transformational grammar and theories of grammar, like Dik's functional grammar, based on logical formalizations of the semantic sentence basis (see, e.g., Katznelson 1974, 77 ff; Seiler's proposal of an abstract two-place PRED APPLIES (Seiler 1974, 81ff) etc.). In the functional grammar, for instance, the predicate-frames themselves define the underlying structures and lexical items, which are not given as isolated elements to be inserted into structures which have been generated by independent rules (Dik 1978, 30).

This basic view indeed represents a fundamental improvement in dealing with typological problems: only by referring to a deep semantic structure to be formalized in logical terms is it possible to compare cross-linguistically

Georg.	<u>bavšvs</u>	(indirObj.)	<u>puri</u>	
	child		bread	(Subj.)

hšisa
is object of hungry

with French *l'enfant a faim de pain*, Engl. *the child is hungry for bread*, etc. (cp. Schmidt 1974, 215f, who points out how the model of Dependency Grammar and the Valence Theory (Tesnière) would provide a better understanding and representation of such cross-linguistic comparison); and only in this way is it possible to see intralinguistically what is really going on when we are faced with couples like Russian *ja imeju mašinu* and *u menja est' mašina* (litter. 'near to me (there) is (a) car'): the logical representation is the same; there is a two-place PRED (POSSESS with ARG₁: POSSESSOR and ARG₂: POSSESSED) underlying both and both have the order ARG₁ + ARG₂. The difference lies in the fact that the Vb of the first sentence is congruent with ARG₁, whereas in the second sentence the congruence is with ARG₂: the focalization strategy is different (cp. Katznelson 1974, 82).

that I know₁ something, it by no means follows that I also know₂ how to describe my knowledge in the best possible way. Here I distinguished between two different types or levels of knowledge, identifiable as the knowledge of the native speaker (= research object) and that of the linguist (= researcher)", and *ibid.*: 40 "Indeed, TG has not been able to distinguish between atheoretical rules known by the native speaker and theoretical rules constructed by the linguist". (For the distinction between language and grammar, theorem of a theory of language and theorem of a grammar see also Lieb 1978, 161 f., with further bibliographical references). The isomorphism of grammar as a descriptive model of the linguist and grammar as linguistic competence of the speaker, though a corner stone of the generative theory, is not necessary to a correct generative-transformational analysis of really actual existing languages.

From such an approach typology automatically derives its place and its task: typology is the study of the differences existing between languages with regard to the way they map constitutive universals³ onto surface structures.

To achieve this task a clear distinction is necessary between the biologically determined 'faculté de langage' (see fn. 1) (but not an innate linguistic-cognitive structure!) and languages as historical and social products (Ruggiero 1978, 480).

The Prague 'Symposium on Typology' I mentioned before represented the continuation of the fruitful contacts between Eastern and Western typologists inaugurated by the Szeged meeting, and at the same time gave the new Prague typological school the opportunity to restate some essential aspects of its concept of 'type': a type is a set of structurally interdependent phenomena and the relation obtaining between them is often of an implicational nature so that from the presence of A we can infer the presence (or the absence) of B. Moreover, a type is an abstraction which never appears fully realized in historical language. Historical languages usually belong to different types and the history of a language consists to a great extent in percentage shifts from one type to another (Skalička 1974). As Vennemann rightly said in the discussion on the paper presented by Skalička, a typology of type changes is needed in addition to the typology of languages (see Greenberg's 'Dynamic Comparison' which must lead to the discovery of invariant regularities in language change Greenberg 1978, 76 ff). Diachronic typology is a subject in which great advances will certainly be made in the coming years (see for the present moment the rôle Antinucci assigns to typology in the diachronic change: Antinucci 1977: Cap. IV, and cp. Schmidt 1975 — an enlarged version of Schmidt's contribution to the Prague Symposium, also containing a critique of the succession of typological stages as suggested by Uspenskij (1965): inflectional, agglutinative, incorporant, and amorphous; see further Andersen 1974; Sova 1974, etc.). Along with synchronic generalizations there exist general diachronic principles according to which some historical processes will be highly probable (as, e.g., palatalization of velars in front of palatal vowels or case syncretism of Dat., Abl., and Genit.) while some other will be highly improbable (as, e.g., velarization of palatals or syncretism of Nom. and Abl.).

Of course, these are very trivial statements which do not yet constitute a diachronic typology. Such a typology has to ascertain the deep (= functional) reasons for typological changes, but the statement of facts and of (quasi-) invariants in linguistic change is certainly a prerequisite for building up such a typology on a consistent comparative basis.

³To be principally distinguished from the methodological universals (e.g. the representation of semantical relations by PREDs and ARGs — although this, in its turn, is not only a device for representing them but does really reflect the nature of the structuring of meanings).

The basic concepts of Skalička and the Prague school (P. Sgall, R. Růžička, etc.) have been taken over and deepened by a pupil of Skalička, G. Altmann, in a comprehensive book written in collaboration with W. Lehfeldt (Altmann—Lehfeldt 1973). The main contribution of the volume consists, I believe, in the fact that the Authors resolutely refuse to consider typology as a trivial classification of languages according to the presence/absence of a given characteristic. Most typologies — they write — are still based on Aristotelian essentialism in the sense that the classes to which languages must belong are fixed *a priori*. Altmann and Lehfeldt, basing themselves on the Numeral Taxonomy of Sokal and Sneath as applied to biology and psychology, propose, on the contrary, a polythetic classification in which every character has equal weight in creating natural taxa (i.e. the grouping of natural languages). A type will consequently result in a consistent set of features, will give us essential clues to the discovery of the construction mechanisms of languages and will finally represent a criterion for predicting which features the language under scrutiny is likely to exhibit, according to the implicational properties that a coherent structure (= a type) must possess.

It is evident that an important rôle in this procedure is assigned to the statistical quantification of data, since distinct taxa can be constructed because of diverse character correlations in the group under study. And actually Altmann and Lehfeldt reconsider J. Greenberg's ten morphological parameters (as improved by V. Krupa), and attempt to arrive at a quantitative classification of 20 languages. The groupings and subgroupings thus arrived at represent language types and subtypes — though still incomplete — in the sense of Skalička ("Netz von Merkmalszusammenhängen und -implikationen").

As we can easily see, Altmann and Lehfeldt's book represents the culminating point of a long tradition of typological studies in which different experiences like the Praguean structuralism, functional views of language, statistical approach etc. also merge. Some general points maintained in the book are nowadays shared by the great majority of typologists — e.g. the polythetic approach or the equal weight of every feature for a numerical typology. Yet, not all the typologically relevant phenomena can be dealt with within Altmann and Lehfeldt's frame of reference (see, e.g., the problem of the invariants at the level of the deep(est) structure which certainly impose constraints on the typological variations so that the equal weight of every surface feature should be reconsidered from this point of view; cp. Ramat 1977, 591ff).

It is by no means possible to assert that nowadays typological studies have reached some general agreement on all the main points: see for instance the reductive points of view about the tasks and the possibilities of typology expressed by Jucquois 1975 and also by Sharadzenidze who considered it "impossible to find a unitary model for all the languages of the world" (Sharadzenidze 1976, 36, and *ibid.* 37: "all they [i.e. typological classifications]

can do is to classify languages after separate or internally linked chains of system"; cp. also Scharadsenidse 1974).

It would certainly be too difficult to attempt to give here a full account of all empirical research and theoretical discussions centering around the concept of 'type of language'. We can say that never before in the history of our science has this concept proved to be so central as it appears today.

There have recently been and there are still various attempts at establishing a metatheory of typology; see, above all, the Soviet linguists who, starting from a series of empirical investigations into certain phenomena in different languages of different types (e.g. causative, ergative, passive constructions: see Žirmunskij (ed.) 1973; Cholodovič (ed.) 1974) have felt the need to elaborate a theory of what typology must achieve in a general theory of language. Vardul', referring to Uspenskij's (1965) distinction between informative and non-informative universals, maintains that, since the object of linguistic typology is the set of all possible linguistic systems viewed as a whole and not in their practical realizations in historical languages, the task of typology will consequently consist of dealing with those properties that distinguish a linguistic system A from a linguistic system B. To do this, a typological theory is needed which must be strong enough to logically deduce all the typological properties of all possible linguistic systems, and moreover to explain the structural multiplicity of these systems (Vardul' 1969, § 3.3). As Vardul' himself of course admits, such a typology does not exist — nor is it likely to exist in the near future — so that one can wonder whether the task assigned to typology will generate too strong a theory which will consequently show a weak explanatory power in empirical research.

However I have quoted Vardul' extensively because, better than anyone else, he expresses the widely felt need to substantiate empirical typological research within a consistent (':scientific') frame; the same need which, e.g., has compelled Keenan to strive toward a Universal Grammar encompassing typology or Altmann and Lehfeldt to elaborate a predictive model of typology.

This is no new thing in the history of typology. Three years ago the participants in the 'International Conference on Language Universals' organized by the 'Universalienprojekt' of Cologne were requested to comment on a quote by Georg von der Gabelentz concerning the predictive power of typology (Gabelentz 1901, 481, see "akup" 25, Nov. 1976, *passim*). Greenberg (1974, 43) quotes a very similar passage from Raoul de la Grasserie preceding Gabelentz by some years. In both cases the influence of outstanding scientific experiences (Cuvier, botany) was very important — as it is in the case of Altmann—Lehfeldt (see Sokal—Sneath).

But a conclusion of the sort "nihil sub sole novi" after a debate of more than 150 years would be a trivial and unfair one.

If we compare the ongoing discussions with the typologies elaborated starting from the nineteenth century up to Sapir, who really represents the turning point in the development of our subject, we see that one of the major differences lies in the fact that today typology has abandoned the evaluative prejudice which resulted in positing the Indo-European type at the top of a hierarchy of languages. The non-linguistic, ideological background of such an assumption has been underlined many a time and I will not insist upon it (cp. Ramat 1973, 37ff). As to Friedrich Schlegel it has convincingly been shown that his essentially fixist typology, ranking first the 'Sprache und Weisheit' of the Indians, is basically a romantic reaction to the enlightenment idea of a constant historical progress in the evolution of human languages. The idea of an original state of linguistic perfection is not derived from linguistic observations but rather from philosophical beliefs equating language to other manifestations of the 'Geist' like religion, poetry etc. (Timpanaro 1972; for criticism of Timpanaro see Renzi 1976, § 2).

The development of typological studies is characterized by a constant effort to abandon the rather impressionistic typology of Humboldt and his successors (Steinthal, Misteli, Finck, etc.) and to provide the typological research with more exact and falsifiable tools like statistics or Immediate Constituent Analysis. We have also abandoned the prejudice of a hierarchy of linguistic types and consequently the idea of a primitive and perfect state of language, as well as the opposite and equally non-linguistic belief in a development of linguistic structures from the simplest 'formloser' type without morphology, like Chinese, to the most sophisticated and developed one, that of inflectional languages, which goes as far back as Adelung at least (Mithridates, 1806).

In this sense, we can really say that the scientific paradigm (in the Kuhnian sense of the word) we follow is different from the one of pre-Sapirian typology. The preliminary condition for this shift was the understanding of language as a structured system where not 'per se' positive values but value oppositions are at work in the functioning of the system. It is significant that the by now obvious (though not unproblematic!) link of typology with the study of the universals was fully realized only at the time of the Prague School — that is when structuralism fully developed into a coherent system and a new methodological approach to be applied in empirical research (see Greenberg 1974, 43ff). It is sufficient to remember Jakobson's phonological binarism: the binary oppositions of features have universal value and all the phonological contrasts in every language can be expressed in those terms. It goes without saying that this general schema is merely a tool for understanding the functioning of every phonological system and no evaluative judgements could be expressed on the basis of this principle.

We cannot yet maintain that our theoretical choices are independent of ideological premises, as I have tried to show in the case of Chomsky. I do not

deny the right to make such ideological choices; indeed it may even be impossible to avoid making them, at least at an unconscious level. But what we have learned from the development of science is that we must be explicit in stating the underlying premises from which we start and not just admit them tacitly as if they were obvious.⁴ (See now G. A. Klimov, *Tipologičeskie issledovanija v SSSR. 20—40-e godi*, Moskva 1981.)

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⁴ It has to be noted that the discussion ongoing in the Soviet works on typology would deserve a special issue. The Soviet achievements have been here regarded in so far as they can be related to the more extended and generalized discussion on the theory of typology.

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LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS RESEARCH, LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY, AND INDIVIDUAL GRAMMAR

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1. Introduction

The linguistic interest and the intensity of investigation in the “areas” of language universals research [LUR] and language typology [LTYP] have increased rapidly in the last few years. Although both “areas” are often discussed and handled together, their reciprocal relation to one another remains unclear: is LUR simply the continuation of LTYP, in the sense of properties found in some languages vs. properties found in all languages? In the following the attempt is made to clarify this relation and thus the goals, procedures and results of these “areas” within a unifying theoretical framework. In the process a third “area” will be brought into consideration: the writing of a grammar for an individual language [GRW].

2. The Approach of the Cologne Project on Language Universals and Typology [UNITYP]

The decisive aspect of this approach is that the three afore-mentioned subjects are not regarded as “areas”, closed fields or cubbyholes in which “facts” are to be ordered. LUR, LTYP and GRW are regarded as three meta-linguistic activities, each following its own program or operational plan. The primary task is to bring these operational plans to consciousness and to elucidate them. The next task is to demonstrate that these operational plans correspond to the linguistic reality. A basic hypothesis of UNITYP is that the operational plans of LUR, LTYP and GRW simultaneously represent the program for language activity. A further task consists in demonstrating how these operational plans relate to one another. A basic assumption of UNITYP is that the linguist, just like the speaker, independent of his situation, is constantly concerned with all three programs, although in different proportions. The three activities condition and elucidate one another at the same time.

3. The Operational Plans

3.1. Language Universals Research

3.11. The Dimensional Model

Language is here understood as a system of operational plans (terminologically referred to as dimensions) which serve as the solutions to specific problems raised by communicating through language. The problems analyzed in pragmatics and speech act theory, such as e.g. promising, or christening ships, which are rather marginal with respect to the whole phenomenon of language, do not stand in the foreground of our research. Instead, it is important for us to demonstrate that language, with all the categories, properties, and structures which are found in the individual language, is a process of construction, constantly actualized, with definite problem solutions. In the observation of language learning, language change and language breakdown it becomes particularly clear that we are confronted with a process. Language variation is also indicative of the process character. What a speaker or a text can give us is the final product of such processes. When this final product is described with the help of categories, relations, properties etc. the process as such is not yet comprehended. Neither is the program, the operational plan according to which the process proceeds, comprehended. And finally, the original motivation, the purpose to be achieved through the plan, is not comprehended. However, it will certainly be admitted that all of these belong to the phenomenon of language in a fundamental way. If language universals, i.e. that which is valid for all languages, are to be fathomed, the last-mentioned interests deserve particular consideration. We do not have a universal language in mind.

3.12. Universals

According to a wide-spread opinion in contemporary linguistics, a language universal is a structural property of all languages. Among others, this is the position of generative grammar.¹ The generally accepted catalogue of such undisputed universals — whether substantial or formal — is rather meager.² The investigations to date are not sufficient to approach the appre-

¹ Cf. Chomsky (1965); Chomsky (1968); Dougherty (1970). Cf. also Lieb (1974).

² In Edith A. Moravcsik's very careful study (1977) it is freely admitted (66) that "the set of such functionally necessary universals about temporal constituent-relations that we ended up proposing was very meager, amounting to four statements. So was, however, the functional definition that we assumed for human languages as well." In contrast to this statement, for us it is not a matter of *assuming* such specific properties of human cognition with respect to a functional definition of language; it is rather a matter of *reconstructing* the functions in a partly inductive and a partly deductive process and of correlating them with empirical knowledge of cognition.

hension of the multiplicity of the world's languages or to reduce them to a common denominator. We cannot disregard the fact that the verb in Eskimo is different from the verb in Turkish and that both are different from the verb in English. These differences cannot be regarded as *une quantité négligeable*, nor can they be reduced to a unity as long as the opinion reigns that this unity can only be represented with the help of categories and properties, which, in the final analysis, all have a material character.

For UNITYP a language universal is first of all a purely formal concept: a language universal is something which is valid for all members of the class of natural human languages. It is an invariant. "Universal" does not at the outset imply the specification of a content. This, of course, must be supplied by the researcher in the course of his work. However, it is detrimental for both the course of the research and the quality of the results, if it is initially assumed that all languages must have certain material aspects like categories or properties in common.

The concept of the variant is the necessary complement to the crucial concept of the invariant. The phenomena in the individual languages have the status of variants. Our intention is to pursue a universals research program which encompasses, rather than precludes variation.

The term invariant must be understood in a strict sense: as that, which truly does not change. It is paradoxical to speak of "near universals", "implicative universals", "relative universals". Of course, it is important whether a phenomenon or a property occurs in only a few languages, in many or even "in all languages" (as if that could be verified). But even supposing that it could be demonstrated that a property occurs in all languages, it does not follow that this circumstance can be equated with the invariant. No doubt we can say that it refers to the invariant. In our research program there is a series of stages which point toward the invariant with increasing relevance.

3.13. The Program

According to the initial hypothesis of the Cologne Project on Language Universals, language communication involves the solution of a series of problems. Such problem solving represents a purpose and conditions the existence of a corresponding plan for the achievement of the purpose. We term the combination of the purpose and the plan a *function*. According to this initial hypothesis, *functions* in this well circumscribed sense represent the most fundamental aspect which contributes to all the other aspects of all particular languages (cf. Guchman 1974). The *functions* are not immediately given, we cannot a priori decide what these *functions* should be. They are the result of our research. Figure 1 represents our research plan in diagram form (cf. Seiler 1978a, b). In itself it is a mental operational schema, comparable with lan-

guage schemata. For the time being we can disregard the bottom part with the curved lines. The horizontal line contains a series of incisions or stages. The arrows signify that we can proceed either from left to right or right to left. In the inductive part of our research we begin on the right and proceed toward the left.

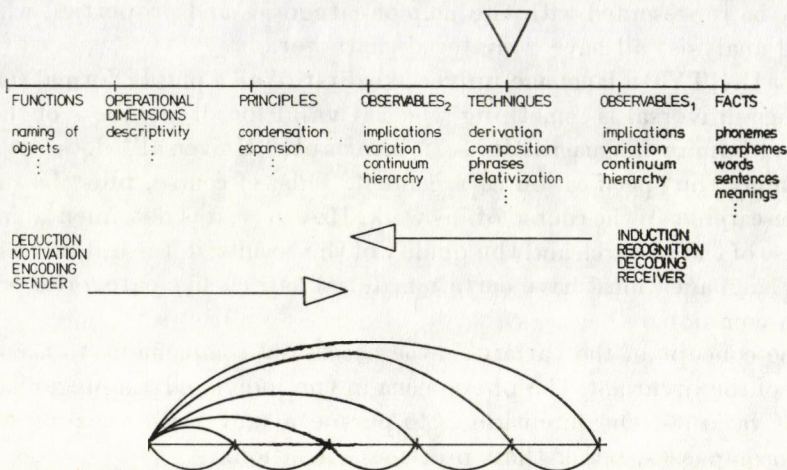


Fig. 1

The first stage includes entities which many linguists (particularly the American structuralists) have called the **FACTS** of language when they demand that a grammar should contain "the facts and nothing but the facts" (Nida, 1949, 20f).³ It is the most concrete aspect of language, partially immediately accessible to our senses, as e.g. the sounds. However, even this apparently most concrete aspect displays properties which are not directly accessible to perceptual experience. The question "What is a linguistic fact" (Labov 1975) is certainly justified. For morphemes, categories, and relations, which we also place in this stage, it is even more valid. I shall return to this point.

The following two levels are called *observables* and *techniques*. The *observables* which have so far been recognized are: implicational relations, variation, continuum, hierarchy.

³The relevant passage is (p. 20): "These principles may be summed up in the parody, 'Describe the facts, all the facts, and nothing but the facts.' This means, first, that we must record precisely what the findings are in view of the data actually used (that no plural formations occur in problem 10 is, for example, unimportant); secondly, that we must record all the essential findings (that is, all the allomorphs must be listed, but not necessarily all the illustrations); and, thirdly, that we must exclude all irrelevant considerations (speculations as to why there are allomorphs, why they have the particular forms they have, and so on)."

Implicational relations represent the statements proposed by J. Greenberg (1963/1966). His term "universals" is misleading. This is not merely a terminological question. True, these statements have the class of human languages in their scope. Granted also that they may point toward the invariant, i.e. the universal. But they do not themselves represent it. On the contrary, they are intimately connected with variation. Many of these statements are not applicable for the majority of languages, e.g. "If a language has a trial, it also has a dual." Variation can be observed for all the phenomena of the previous level: for the structure of phonemes, morphemes and sentences, for the ordering of elements, for the formation of words and sentences etc. The concept of the continuum is closely related to the concept of variation: an example of the continuum is the order of the determiners of a noun and the variations of order which can be observed for German (Seiler 1978b). Also closely related to the three mentioned observables is the concept of hierarchy: variation is only possible in the context of a certain level of hierarchy. Implication establishes a hierarchy. A continuum is possible within a hierarchy as well as between hierarchies.

In a certain sense the observables presuppose the facts: only if we know the elements can we say how they vary, imply one another, constitute a continuum, stand in a hierarchical relation to one another. But this is only a perspective and it cannot be made absolute. From another point of view it can be said that the relations seen in the observables constitute the facts. This is connected with the converse method of proceeding in our program. In any case, the observables are less concrete and more operational than the facts.

A comparable statement can be made concerning the relation of the techniques to the observables although this must still be corroborated by empirical evidence and the sequence of stages suggested here requires further foundation. Without doubt there are observables, in the sense of implication, variation, continuum and hierarchy, which refer to the techniques and are therefore more operational than they are. As techniques we regard those of word formation, e.g. derivation, composition; and also those of sentence formation, e.g. relativization, syntactic compression and its complement: syntactic expansion. The different word order techniques (basic word order, series of determiners) also belong here.

What have we done so far? In a sequential series of stages we have transferred from easier to less easy accessibility, from known to less known, from more thing-like to more operational. We have now arrived at a critical point. If we proceed further towards the left, we set out on largely unknown territory. Our operational scheme says that the motivation for language problem solving proceeds from the functions and that there are two further stages between them and the techniques, which we have called operational

dimensions and principles. With increasing clarity it has been found that the techniques and observables are controlled by over-riding regularities, principles, and that two principles in a converse relation to one another constitute an operational dimension. Thus, the techniques of relative clause formation, composition and derivation are controlled, among others, by the principle of compression or condensation which leads from a proposition to a term and which corresponds to the complementary principle of the extension or explication of a term. Both principles constitute the dimension of descriptivity, i.e. the program which serves the purpose of naming objects in its double aspect of the creation and the explication of names (cf. Seiler 1975, 1978b). The purpose and the program constitute the function.

In a corresponding manner, the dimension of determination was reconstructed on the basis of the two complementary principles: the identification of the reference and the identification of the concept. And recently, on the basis of the two complementary principles of class formation and ordering relation the dimension of individuation with the functional purpose of the linguistic apprehension of objects was constituted (Seiler 1978c). The following points are crucial for such reconstructed dimensions: first, that the two principles do not preclude one another but, on the contrary, supplement one another in the problem solving process, albeit with an inverse degree of participation. In the dimension of the reference and the identification of the concept, they are each represented in the particular classes of the determiners but in an inverse proportion: the stronger the determination of the reference, the weaker the determination of the concept etc. Second, it is crucial that, although such dimensions are to be understood as continua with gradual transitions, categorically discrete elements have their natural places on such continua as focal instances (Rosch 1975) (cf. Seiler 1978a, 321). As an example the instances *abstract*, *collective*, *mass*, *noun class*, *gender*, *number* on the dimension of individuation can be cited. Third, it is crucial that such dimensions as programs have a turning point.

Let us return to our research plan as a whole (Fig. 1). We have already indicated how it can be followed in a partly inductive and a partly deductive manner. The turning point which we just spoke about and which is inscribed above the stage of *technique*, does not only signify the transition from the known to the unknown. It is also the threshold for that which is valid for particular languages to that which is valid for many languages. It could also be characterized as the transition from that which primarily belongs to the expression plane of language to that which primarily belongs to the content plane. The further we move from the turning point toward the left, the more fundamental are the regularities involved for "language". But where are the lan-

guage universals to be found in such a research plan? The functions are closely connected with the universals, closer than the dimensions, which, in turn, are more closely connected than the principles etc. But still we do not want to equate the universal with a certain stage of the research plan, consequently not with the functions — as if we would claim: the functions are the same for all languages. Rather the language universal exists in the invariant connection between the functions and all the previous stages, a connection which has the character of a conservation. Examples: 1. In the dimension of descriptivity the invariant, that which is valid for all languages, is to be found in the conservation of a stability between the principles of condensation and expansion. A given term (word) has a certain potential of condensation and a certain potential of expansion: the more transparent the term, i.e. the less the principle of condensation has been operative, the less the motivation for an explication (in the definition, explanation of a word, in language learning); the more opaque the term (i.e. the greater the condensation), the stronger the motivation for an explication. 2. In the dimension of determination the invariant is to be found in the conservation of a stability between the identification of the reference and the identification of the concept: the more one principle is represented in a term (e.g. numeration), the less the other principle is represented and vice versa. Both principles are always represented. 3. In the dimension of individuation the principles of class formation and order formation are related in a similar way. To demonstrate graphically what we mean, we must take the bottom half of our scheme (Fig. 1) into consideration. It must be projected onto the upper scheme. The curved lines on the upper portion of the horizontal which connect the functions with all the other stages indicate that the total function contributes to each of the previous stages. There is also evidence that every stage has a functional character in relation to the immediately preceding one (proceeding from left to right) and that the preceding stage represents the means towards the end. In any case, in the model suggested here the so-called facts are not the only aspect of language worth mentioning and representing, as the structuralist quoted suggests. Rather the facts require an explanation which can only emerge from the context of the total research plan.

Until now we have discussed the program or model with its schematic representation only as a research program with its converse inductive and deductive directions. However, UNITYP's more far-reaching claim is that the program can also be understood as a model for language communication. It is not possible to justify this claim further within the context of the present study. It is, however, immediately evident that the functions, in our delimited sense, represent the primary datum for the sender, i.e. speaker, whereas the so-called facts are the final product. For the receiver the situation is exactly reversed. If this theory turns out to be correct, it would

imply that the receiver — in order to understand the sender's intentions — must unconsciously pass through the same stages as the researcher who attempts to explicate this process. This theory, which is presently being tested, would be a significant deviation from the reigning views of transformational grammar in all of its varieties.

3.2. Language Typology [LTYP]

This section offers an orientation for working out the program which is particular to language typology. It must be made clear that, on the one hand, the program of LTYP is to be distinguished from that of LUR in principle, while on the other hand, only both together — in connection with the program of grammar writing — can be combined to constitute a theory of language which truly deserves that title.

The demands on language typology which have already been made by different researchers (cf. Altmann—Lehfeldt 1973, 13—17; Haarmann 1976, 7—64) perhaps offer the best point of departure for approaching the problem of LTYP. In addition, discussions by philosophers of science on typology in the various sciences (cf. Hempel 1952, 1959)⁴ are interesting. What are the goals to be achieved?

One of the most frequently mentioned goals is the classification of languages. But classification for what purpose? It is possible to see a certain prognostic value in typological classification: if it is known to which typological class a language X which is to be more closely investigated belongs, then certain predictions could be made concerning the properties which will be found in X. However, this would be too modest a goal. The identification of typology with the classification of languages has been justifiably criticized (cf. Coseriu 1972, 132).

Intersubjectivity is a demand which is certainly not to be made merely on language typology but rather on all linguistic research. Stronger empirical (Trubetzkoy) and analytic (Greenberg) methods⁵ have replaced the intuitive procedure typical of the 19th century. It is certainly significant that precisely in the area of language typology quantitative methods have been developed and have led to impressive results; the question must still be raised whether it is not precisely this circumstance which elucidates the discovery of the program particular to language typology.

An important demand is systematic relevance. A classification should not only be complete in the sense that all the entities of the universe of dis-

⁴ W. Elsasser (1975, 44, 50, 101) has expressed a completely negative opinion concerning the scientific value of typologies.

⁵ Cf. the informative overview in Greenberg (1974).

course are apprehended. Rather it should be systematically relevant by choosing those criteria which are distinguished by typological clustering (cf. Greenberg 1975, 82), i.e. which are correlated with other properties as far as possible. The classification of human beings into male and female is correlated with more physical, physiological, psychological and sociological properties than a classification according to whether they weigh more or less than 75 kilograms. The first permits more predictions and is therefore superior to the second (Hempel 1959, 147).

The demand of explanatory power is connected with the criterion just referred to. Of the clustering properties, those are to be distinguished which not only permit predictions and thus have a heuristic value, but also which simultaneously explain the properties accompanying them. The stronger clustering properties deserve particular consideration in contrast to the weaker ones (cf. Skalička 1966).

Contemporary language typology has departed from the postulate of a disjunct classification and the conception of gradually scaled ordering dimensions has found its place. Sapir (1921) has impressively shown how we can classify languages not as either agglutinative or fusional or isolating but rather how a certain language can be agglutinative in certain areas and fusional in others. Greenberg (1960) developed his "quantitative approach to the morphological typology of languages" on the basis of this conception.

The demands on a language typology briefly dealt with above as well as the criteria and concepts attending them are certainly useful, indispensable building blocks for such research. Up to the present, however, the more overriding objectives as well as the consciousness of a program for pursuing the goal are still lacking: what should language typology achieve? And how is the research program to be organized? These appear to be the most urgent questions. UNITYP has not yet developed a complete typological program since the emphasis had clearly been placed on language universals research. However, a few theses which could lead us to construction, or reconstruction, of a typology program can be formulated on the basis of the program for LUR presented above. The concerns of phonological typology are not taken into consideration in these preliminary reflections.

1) Typology is concerned with correlations. This immediately raises two questions:

- a) Among what do the correlations exist?
- b) What do the correlations mean?

2) Among what do the correlations exist: let us follow the research plan of LUR which leads from the facts to the functions and ask: is language typology concerned with correlations of the facts of particular languages? Hardly. Is it concerned with correlations of functions? This also is scarcely probable. Rather it must be concerned with correlations on the threshold

of the transition from language specific to language general. In our scheme (Fig. 1) these are the techniques which encompass the formation of words and sentences. LTYP has always dealt with these matters. Techniques we said, are operational. To be sure, they involve features but they are not to be equated with them.

3) What do the correlations mean? They mean that a numerically determinable quantity of languages display the same procedures in the formation of their words and sentences. The notion of quantity is intrinsic to the comprehension of the hierarchical scaling of these connections.

4) How can the correlations become known? Our opinion is that this occurs within the context of a sequence of stages, an operational plan, which proceeds in an inductive and deductive direction, analogous to the program of LUR. The inductive process progresses from directly graspable, since stronger operational properties. It thus progresses from more superficial to more fundamental properties. Such an operational plan is not given: it must be inferred step by step. For this inference inductive and deductive procedures must be combined with one another. Only a few suggestions can be presented here.

5) Out of the typological literature we can learn most from E. Sapir (1921, 82ff, 120ff) for inferring a terraced plan. An important aspect of his typology, which amazingly has hardly been appreciated, is his suggestion of a hierarchically graded system of factors. He recognized three main grades: 1. fundamental type, 2. technique, 3. synthesis. All three are concerned with gradually scaled parameters which are in principle quantifiable. The "synthesis" grade is the easiest to grasp. Functionally it is concerned with the complexity of the word. In his quantification of Sapir's parameters, Greenberg (1960, 185) measured the synthesis by the ratio of morphemes per word. Languages change most easily with respect to this parameter in the course of history and it can thus be regarded as the most "superficial". The parameter inferred from the external features of prefixing and suffixing (only discussed by Sapir, but taken up in a list of 5 grades by Greenberg) is also relatively easy to grasp. Functionally it is concerned with the structure of the word, in particular with the relation of subordinate elements to the root. Historically, changes also often occur on this parameter, e.g. suffixing vs. prefixing of noun class indices in African languages. Sapir's parameter "techniques" assumes an intermediate position with respect to diachronic change and to its fundamentality. The two extremes "agglutination" and "fusion", with intermediate stages, are covered by this parameter. Functionally it is concerned with the relation of the word to the sentence. With respect to the features involved, Greenberg only brings the grade of morphophonemic alternations into consideration. In view of the much more far-reaching function involved here a future typology will have to take more features into account. The reason Sapir designated the last parameter "fundamental type" is because "in the

contrast of pure-relational and mixed-relational (or concrete-relational) we are confronted by something deeper, more far-reaching than the contrast of isolating, agglutinative, and fusional" (loc. cit. 146). Functionally it is concerned with the constitution of sentences out of terms and relations. This parameter is thus more operational, less material than the previous ones since it cannot be figured out on the basis of one or two features but only on the basis of a complex connection of a bundle of features. In Greenberg's list of a total of ten typological indices the combination of the following ones corresponds to the fundamental type: compounding (3), derivational (4), gross inflectional (5), and isolational (8), pure inflectional (9), concordial (10) (loc. cit. 187). Historically this total parameter appears to change the least.

6) For the typology program which begins to emerge from these reflections it is crucial that the parameters are not all ordered on one and the same level but rather on a succession of stages, in which a gradual decrease of materiality and a gradual increase of operability (or vice versa, according to the perspective) can be ascertained. A gradual increase or decrease in the changeability can also be established. It may be conjectured that further relations among the stages exist: particular investigations will have to substantiate this. Thus the correlations mentioned in point 1 and discussed throughout this section can be established not only for features on a specific parameter or level but can also be ascertained throughout the hierarchy of the levels. For the typology program it is furthermore crucial that a clear connection with specific functions can be found on every level and that the stage concerned as well as the total hierarchy of stages receives its significance from this connection with the functions. Thus the relation of the programs of LUR and LTYP is established.

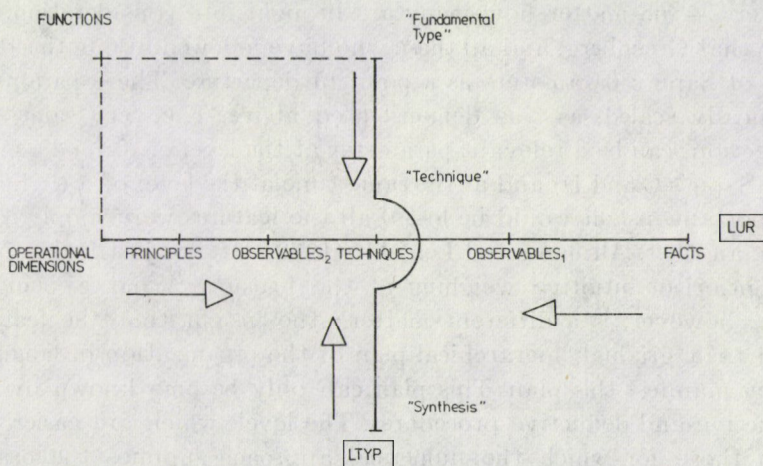


Fig. 2

7) Graphically the LTYP program can be illustrated on a line which is the vertical axis to the LUR line and which intersects it at the point *techniques* (Fig. 2). The horizontal line, i.e. the LUR program, concerns what phenomena will be found in the languages of the world. The vertical-line, i.e. the LTYP, concerns how the phenomena are combined, i.e. the design of the languages. Both programs meet in the functions which they have in common. For this reason the functions have been removed from the LUR axis in the graphical union of both programs in Fig. 2 and placed equidistant to the operational dimensions on the one side and the "fundamental type" on the other side.

The LTYP program can be conceived as consisting of a series of options which exist for the organization or construction of languages. As a preliminary hypothesis it may be surmised that the program LTYP does not only represent a program for the investigation of the correlations, but also simultaneously a program which intrinsically belongs to the language communication process — comparable with the program LUR. This would explain to what extent it is possible for speakers of a certain language to learn, understand, translate etc. any other language of the world.

8) One of the most urgent problems for the near future of typological research consists in operationalizing and verifying the concepts involved in the LTYP program and used in this draft; that is, those concepts which Sapir designated with the terms *simple pure-relational* etc., *agglutinative* etc., *analytic* etc. An important research method for this task is the statistical analysis of features and correlations among features inaugurated by J. Greenberg (1960) and further developed by V. Krupa (1965) and Altmann and Lehfeldt (1973). What is lacking in the work of these authors is the insight that the features as such do not lead to the typologically relevant parameters — no matter how many are brought into consideration. It is no accident that Greenberg, and all those who have followed him in this direction, used all of Sapir's parameters as a point of departure. These parameters are hierarchically scaled, as was demonstrated above. The very same features, e.g. inflection, can be a relevant parameter at the level of *fundamental type* (Sapir's C and D) and at the same time at the level of *technique*. This important insight would be lost if all the features were simply compared with one another. Altmann and Lehfeldt (1973, 28f) are justified in objecting to an a priori or intuitive weighing of the features. What is being discussed here, however, is a different matter: the insight that the features are assigned to a gradual, hierarchical plan of the organization of language and that they manifest this plan. This plan can only become known by combining inductive and deductive procedures. The levels which are easier to grasp are also those for which the numerical approach supplies the best initial conditions.

9) Another urgent problem for further typological research consists in demonstrating the conditions according to which a certain option at a definite level of the LTYP program will be chosen.⁶ E.g. if the option *complex pure-relational* is chosen at the level of *fundamental type*, under what conditions will *agglutinative* or *fusional* or *symbolic* be chosen at the level of *technique*? Again, if the decision for *agglutinative* has been made at the level of *technique*, under what conditions will a decision for or against the options *analytic*, *synthetic*, *polysynthetic* be made at the following level (*synthesis* for Sapir)? The statistical approach doubtlessly has a very important heuristic function in the epistemological or reconstructive process by clarifying very complex relations of features. But the researcher will certainly not be able to rely on statistical analysis alone; for it is not sufficient to take any features or even "as many as possible", since this would never reveal the conditioning factors. The investigator must make a preliminary decision, expressed hypothetically, with respect to which features could represent the conditioning factors for the selection of an option. In this respect Greenberg's implicational relations are trailblazing. Only if the attempts to make this hierarchical decision procedure transparent and verifiable are successful, will the phenomenon of the typological clustering of features, of which so many typologists speak, be understood in its true significance.

10) Whether future typology retains the levels intuitively put forth by Sapir or whether it replaces them by others is a second question.⁷ For us it is crucial to pursue typology on the basis of a hierarchical model. The *functions* remain the point of departure, as is the case with the LUR model. Such a graduated model also permits the integrating of such activities as "the typology of relative clauses" or "the typology of possession", which are thoroughly legitimate and have been quite usual in the field for a long time, within a meaningful context. In these investigations the *function* is equated with a special purpose and correspondingly a special program is brought into consideration.

11) After all that has been said so far it is no longer necessary to provide a lengthy formulation of the main goals of language typology: they consist in discovering and substantializing the plans of the organization of language which determine the correlations of properties or features through a series of decision procedures up to the point of the particular languages. The main goal does not consist in a classification of languages, although typology can provide

⁶ For a comparable concept of options within a constructivist framework of universal grammar, see Ed. Keenan (1978).

⁷ On the vertical axis of our scheme (Fig. 2) I have indicated Sapir's levels by quotation marks.

the basis for a classification (Coseriu 1972, 134).⁸ One must also bear in mind that the number of the typological classes will vary according to the level of the program: they will be minimal at the operational level and maximal at the material level.

12) The word assumes a central position in the operational scheme of LTYP. On the one hand it is crucially relevant for the constitution of sentences, while, on the other hand, it is the instance relative to which the structure of the morpheme and the phoneme is explicable.

3.3. Writing a Grammar for a Particular Language [GRW]

Since I have formulated the principles of grammar writing elsewhere (Seiler 1976 and 1977) I shall be brief here. Grammar writing derives its program from the combination of the programs of LUR and LTYP. Concerning its relation to the LUR program, the region particular to grammar writing is to be found in the facts and the observables. A presupposition for the correct understanding of these, however, lies in the insight into the operational stages of the total program, as I have already indicated. Concerning the relation of GRW to the LTYP program, the more "refined" distinctions to be considered must still be drawn; but since, in the final analysis, these depend on the hierarchically fundamental distinctions, it is also necessary to acquire insight into these. Each language can and should be regarded as a type in itself, but this cannot be considered to be the central interest of typology.

The program of GRW is consequently dependent on the programs of LUR and LTYP. On the other hand, however, the particular languages are the only possible point of departure for discovering the programs of LUR and LTYP. If the combined investigation and application of all three programs is to be fruitful, then inductive and deductive procedures must be applied in a balanced proportion.

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⁸ Cf. loc. cit. 134: "Die Typologie kann zwar Grundlage einer Klassifikation sein, aber die Klassifikation als solche — auch eine rein deskriptive — darf nicht mit der Typologie gleichgesetzt werden...". Cf. also loc. cit. 119 (paraphrasing a thought of W. von Humboldt's): "... eine Klassifikation beziehe sich auf das teilweise Ähnliche und teilweise Verschiedene, es seien aber nicht diese Einzelheiten, die den Charakter einer Sprache ausmachen, sondern ihre Verbindung." Cf. furthermore loc. cit. 122: "Es handelt sich um die Möglichkeit, ideelle, in sich selbst kohärente Arten der Sprachgestaltung festzustellen."

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CRITICA

Frans Plank (ed): Ergativity, Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations. Academic Press. London, New York 1979, XIII + 569 pp.

Ergativity is one of the crucial and controversial issues in universal grammar. It differs from other topics which are crucial and controversial in that it can be studied on the basis of less familiar languages and a considerable amount of the literature is written in Russian but *Rossica non leguntur*. This is another reason for a book on ergativity. The editor carried out the promise he made in the Preface: "Empirical data from a large and diverse sample of languages are brought to bear on persistent as well as new problems, with the intention of advancing the universal and typological theory of central grammatical relations" (VIII). It must have been an extremely difficult task to bring these articles together. The contributions represent a wide variety of languages as well as views on ergativity and on related issues.

The editor's *Introduction, Ergativity, Syntactic Typology and Universal Grammar: Some past and present viewpoints* (3-36), confronts the controversial views on ergativity and shows their bearing on the basic questions and on the related problems. His approach relies on the dominance of grammatical relations in the study of ergativity and this fact determines the treatment of the linguistic issues and the evaluation of others' views. There is

no doubt that grammatical relations and their study are crucial for syntax in general and for ergativity and nominativity (or accusativity) in particular. The only question one may ask is whether other linguistic factors and theories used in interpreting them (semantic roles, topic and comment, determination, aspectuality) have a proper place and relevance in his approach. The confrontation with approaches which differ from that of the editor (e.g. Klimov's content-oriented typology) can not avoid remaining incomplete. Nor is it fortunate that some views duly criticized by Plank are dealt with extensively while others more relevant to the topic are treated only briefly. Nevertheless, it is clear that from the point of view of the theoretical components of universal grammar the theory of grammatical relations is more reliable than that of semantic roles or topic and comment, to mention only these two. Plank was right when he based his approach on the first of these and made headway in the clarification of the basic issues of ergativity which implied a contribution to accusativity (or nominativity).

Part Two: *Function and Form of Subject and Object Relations* is introduced by A. Martinet's article *Shunting on to Ergative or Accusative* (39-43). Martinet's lucid presentation of the ergative and nominative sentence constructions helps the reader who speaks and studies a nominative language to understand and accept ergative constructions as equally plausible ways of constructing sentences.

J. Bechert's contribution *Ergativity and the Constitution of Grammatical Relations* (45–59) interprets ergativity in the frame of reference of the theory of grammatical relations. This is plausible because, as was mentioned above, grammatical relations are crucial for the study of ergative constructions. The author revises and extends the theory of grammatical relations in order to cope with the problems of ergative languages. Such an extended variant seems to be more suitable for the study of any language than the earlier versions of this theory. Those interested in ergativity in detail are advised to start with relatively consistent representatives of this type and read A. E. Kibrik's article *Canonical Ergativity and Daghestan Languages* (61–77). It is advisable to do so because the rest of Part Two contains the descriptions of constructions from two languages only suspected to be ergative or to have ergative structures and Part Four demonstrates the "negative" impact of various factors on ergativity. It is surprising to find analyses of Finnish and Chinese constructions in a book on ergativity. T. Itkonen's contribution *Subject and Object Marking in Finnish: An Inverted Ergative System and an 'Ideal' Ergative Subsystem* (79–102) clearly demonstrates that the factors relevant to the formation of ergative structures influence also the structuring of nominative languages which may have some structures comparable to those of ergative languages. This is very important for universal grammar. In my opinion, Finnish, as well as the other Balto-Finnic or Baltic languages constitute a sub-type of nominative languages because they lack the basic feature of ergativity: the marking of a transitive subject-agent by special morphological devices.

In Part Three (*Ergativity and Voice*) a traditional problem is studied in various languages: *The Antipassive and Grammatical Relations in Eskimo* by I. Kalmár (117–143), *Why Does Washo Lack a Passive?* by W. H. Jacobsen (145–160), *De-voiced Transitive Verb Sentences in*

Formal Indonesian by A. Cartier (161–183), *The Intransitive-passival Conception of the Verb in the Languages of the Ancient Near East* by G. Steiner (185–216). These articles are concerned with three controversial issues: ergativity, passive, and the correlation of ergativity and passive, and may arouse the interest of a large number of linguists.

If someone intends to have a closer look at the variety of ergative constructions, the impact of different factors on them and the relationship between ergative and non-ergative structures, he may make his choice among languages of at least two different areas presented in Part Four *Degrees of Ergativity*. As a native speaker of an Uralic language interested in the study of the Northern Euro-Asian area I have a preference to Chukch, since it is very well represented here from both empirical and theoretical aspects in two articles *Degrees of Ergativity: Some Chukchee evidence* by B. Comrie (45–59) and *Degrees of Ergativity in Chukchee* by V. P. Nedjalkov (241–262). In this language ergativity is demonstrated under the influence of various linguistic factors (tense-aspect, mood, person, number, function), which results in various degrees of ergativity. In his article *Nominal and Verbal Ergativity in Asiatic Eskimo: Splits in the person and mood paradigms* (279–289), N. B. Vaxtin suggests historical conclusions based on the study of the distribution of nominativity and ergativity in the person and mood paradigms. Two articles deal with two areas far from the North of Asia: *Degrees of Ergativity in Australia* by B. J. Blake (291–305) and *The Syntactic Irrelevance of an Ergative Case in Enga and Other Papuan Languages* by C. N. Li and R. Lang (307–324). Both cover an enormous amount of languages far less studied than Chukchee or Asiatic Eskimo. The authors give a brief survey of the major grammatical properties of these languages and a more detailed account of the problems of ergativity which complement the picture of ergativity given in the

studies on Chukchee or Eskimo. K. B. Kepping's paper on *Elements of Ergativity and Nominativity in Tangut* (263–277) claims that ergativity was manifested in this extinct language. This statement is of particular importance because ergativity is known only in the Tibetan group and its existence can be reconstructed for the Burman group on the base of Tangut data (cf. Baumann's article reviewed below).

Part Five (*Typological Correlates of Ergativity*) covers a wide range of questions, some of the contributions are based on the analysis of one language, others imply typological generalizations. In his article *On the Position of the Ergative Type in Typological Classification* (327–332), G. A. Klimov, who is the author of a number of books on ergative and active constructions, gives a brief characterization of the ergative type in the frame of reference of his content-oriented typology. It is a pity that his contribution is a rather brief statement the full version of which can be read only in Russian. Those who study the history of Proto-Indo-European or the early history of Indo-European languages will probably read K. H. Schmidt's paper on *Reconstructing Active and Ergative Stages of Pre-Indo-European* (333–345), in which a competent account is given of this intricate problem. Linguists like the present reviewer who are bound to the "new" languages of the old world, must go beyond their field of interest and see the evidence of the languages of the new world in the article *Correlates of Ergativity in Mayan Grammar* by T. W. Larsen and W. M. Norman (347–370) and that of one of the "old" languages of the old world: *Typological Characteristics of Basque* by G. Brettschneider (371–384). Both papers raise theoretical issues and criticize inadequate and simplified statements concerning ergativity and related questions. The last contribution in this part, *On the Origins of Ergativity* (385–404) by R. L. Trask, sets up two types of ergativity based on the characteristics of eighteen languages. Then Trask formulates his

hypotheses on the origin of these types. Future research will confirm or refute his typology and hypotheses.

Part Six (*Ergativity in Language Change*) deals with very different aspects of this topic: from synchronic dynamics to historical changes through different dimensions of time in various languages. The first aspect is represented by C. Tchekhoff's paper, *From Ergative to Accusative in Tongan: An example of synchronic dynamics* (407–418), which is rather short but further information can be found in the author's book. J. J. Bauman's article reconstructs the Proto-Tibeto-Burman as a language highly ergative in case-marking and agreement morphology on the basis of existing data and historical consideration and briefly attempts to show its evolution including the loss of ergativity. W. Boeder's *Ergative Syntax in Caucasian Languages* (435–480) gives a detailed account of the present stage and history of ergativity in Kartvian languages. Students of Indo-European languages will be particularly interested in L. A. Pirejko's short paper *On the Genesis of the Ergative Construction* (481–488). It is supported by the author's book in Russian, which is unfortunately not accessible to the majority of the readers. J. F. Foster's *Agents, Accessories and Owners: The cultural base and the rise of ergative structures, with particular reference to Ozark English* (489–510) puts forward the hypothesis that Ozark English, a language spoken by a group North American Indians, "is accommodating a cultural preference for clear identification of wilful responsible agents", but the language remains a nominative one.

F. Plank's *Bibliography on Ergativity* (511–554) is an integral part of the book. It makes it possible for anyone interested to get acquainted with the views of the authors in their complete versions bibliography. In some cases this was mentioned above but it holds for the others too. The bibliography is valuable because it is up-to-date and covers Soviet publications as well. Section A contains works on

general issues, Section B is devoted to Indo-European languages, Sections C to P cover Uralic and Altaic, Paleosiberian, Caucasian, Hamito-Semitic, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Pacific, Australian, Austronesian, Americo-Indian and other languages.

The book under review is indispensable not only to those who study grammatical theory, typology, ergative and active languages, but as a contribution to universal grammar it enhances the chances of a better understanding of nominative languages as well. Its mere existence calls for a similar book on nominativity which would continue the study of problems raised by Plank's book.

L. Dezső

В. Н. Ярцева — В. А. Сereбrenников (eds.), Принципы описания языков мира. [On the principles of describing the languages of the world] (Institute of Linguistics at the Soviet Academy of Sciences) Izd. Nauka, Moscow 1976, pp. 344 + 1 chart.

The book under review is undoubtedly a major achievement in contemporary Soviet linguistics. It stands out both as a monograph on numerous crucial issues of general linguistics and as a volume handling essential points and principles of the typological classification of languages. It ranges over a broad spectrum of relevant fields and provides a penetrating analysis of the problems involved. As the book is the result of collective work, eleven authors contributing to it, it necessarily offers no uniform approach to the principles of describing the languages of the world, although points of convergence far outnumber those of divergence. The task undertaken is probably one of the most ambitious ones a general linguistic monograph can aim at, in view of its enormity and the difficulties involved. The very issue of assessing the number of languages that are spoken the world over is formidable enough, let alone their description and classification. Since neither general linguis-

tic theory nor its individual branches like typology and contrastive analysis have yet achieved a stage of development where they could serve as an optimum, uniform, reliable and unambiguous set of principles for describing several thousand often wildly different languages, the solutions presented in this volume also necessarily reflect this state of affairs and are occasionally controversial in nature. Nevertheless, the authors have been guided by numerous sound principles characteristic of Soviet linguistics and mature insights drawn from their individual scholarly work. Salient 'eternal' questions like the relationship between content and form, the criteria for part of speech status, etc. are given a Marxist interpretation. In their efforts to counteract formalistic approaches, however, some authors seem to have given somewhat more importance to meaning than to form than that their true dialectics would have required. The importance of the present volume is greatly enhanced by the fact that it serves as a theoretical background and source of methodological guidance alike for the gigantic 15 volume project of "An encyclopedia of the Languages of the World" initiated by the Institute of Linguistics at the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Thus, the monograph has a scholarly aim in supplying a theoretical basis for the further elaboration of specific means for describing the various languages of the world, including the creation of corresponding methods (*Preface* 4) as well as a popularizing aim in channelling the scholarly information into ways of presentation comprehensible for the general reading public when the above-mentioned project materializes (3).

By and large, the volume can be divided into four parts, though this is not indicated so in the table of contents. The first one comprises four chapters, all of them treating various essential theoretical points pertinent to the description of the internal system of languages.

Serebrennikov, *The comparability of the languages of the world, consideration of the*

specificity of individual languages, and the goals of description (7–52). The author clarifies the difference between notional and grammatical categories and clearly defines the sphere of application for both. Notional categories are said to be universal, whereas grammatical categories language-specific. Thus, the notional category of aspect is expressed in all languages in one way or another, but there is only a small group of languages where it is given grammatical status as a result of the consistent morphological correlation manifested in the verb. Serebrennikov seems to be inclined to accept the term of non-inflective morphology to describe languages with analytical rather than synthetic constructions, but ultimately prefers a hesitating attitude in recognizing categories as grammatical only when morphologically expressed on the one hand (42), but recognizing categories like cases even in languages with very poor morphological properties, not relegating — rightfully — the issue to syntax proper (41). This is, of course, only possible if analytical syntactic means in languages with poor morphology ('non-inflective morphology') corresponding to morphological means in languages with a marked system of morphology are considered to be equally grammatical. This becomes only too obvious from the very distinction the author makes between languages with 'a weakly developed system of morphology' and languages with 'a markedly developed system of morphology' in a typological analysis and classification. It is no mean feat to sift through all the critical evaluation of the literature on the issue of criteria for part of speech status (16–30). Serebrennikov defines parts of speech as 'functional-semantic classes' as a starting point for linguistic analysis as against partial typology, statistical universals or frequentals in order to avoid cross-classification and misinterpretation, but also notes that it is of paramount importance to set up and define the list of the universal categories of language (60).

In addition to universal categories, universal principles of description are also essential, as, for example, the principle of observing the hierarchy of description according to the levels of language (61).

Jarceva, *The grammatical basis for the description of languages* (64–104). The author focuses her attention on questions of morphological and derivational description. A new term for paradigmatic and (partially) syntagmatic analysis is introduced in the shape of *rjad* 'string' and is applied in making languages with a poor system of morphology and those with a marked system of morphology compatible. In connection with the basic question of form and meaning she said that grammar deals with the system of meaningful forms, which is a very neat formulation. In this chapter major issues of the structure of words, the structure of 'strings' and related problems are treated in considerable detail. Languages of different structure are successfully brought under some common general classificatory headings. In her final remarks, Jarceva stresses the importance of the specificity of the linguistic material under analysis and that of always choosing the most flexible and comprehensive method. She warns of rash generalizations in theories and methods alike.

Solncev, *On the comparability of languages* (105–121). In view of the numerous structural differences among the languages of the world on the one hand and the great variety of linguistic trends, schools and ways of approach, on the other, the question arises whether it is possible at all to find a common metalanguage with the necessary unequivocal terminology and well-defined uniform concepts that can be used in comparing languages of various types. Cases of possible misinterpretation and incompatibility as well as applying the wrong terms (e.g. those of Indo-European languages for Chinese) are neatly analyzed. The author gives an affirmative answer to the question and outlines the ways in which new terms sufficiently general in

reference could be set up for describing any language. Less general terms could be used in characterizing individual types of languages.

The second part contains three papers on typological questions proper. Klimov, *On questions of the content-based typological description of languages* (122–146). 'Contentive' or content-based typology is propounded here as a powerful way of typological description and classification, as against the genetic classification of languages as well as the traditional typological classification into isolating, agglutinative, inflecting, etc. The author discusses the advantages of content-based typology over formal typology and highlights the most important milestones in the history of typological investigations. In his model, Klimov operates with specific implications on different levels (vocabulary, syntax and morphology) for every language type postulated in it (127). In the hierarchy of levels, it is the lexical one that determines the properties of the others. Thus, in this highly original model it is lexical classes that serve as a basis for the typological description of languages. Klimov analyzes five linguistic types: neutral, class, active, ergative and nominative.

G. V. Stepanov, *The external system of language and the types of its connection with its internal structure* (147–163). The author analyzes the causes why considerably little attention is usually paid to the external system of language, then expounds his own hypothesis of the problem using quite a few specific terms. The ontological properties of the external aspect of language can best be described by means of (usually binary) oppositions. The author's list and characterization of internal and external impulses are novel in the literature.

Gadžieva, *The principles of the real description of languages* (164–202). After an introduction into the general questions of areal typology, the author offers an excellent account of a number of phonetic phenomena of Turkic languages and draws some revealing conclusions. Areal typology

is a most essential and exciting branch of typology, remarkably presented in this chapter.

In the third part one finds the chapter: Ju. S. Stepanov and D. I. Edel'man, *The semiological principle of language description* (203–281). Being certainly the most original chapter in the volume, it gives a fully detailed account of the semiological principle in relation to both meaning and form. The term 'semiology' is preferred to the term 'semiotics'. The semiological principle is carefully defined and is separated from the structural and generative principles. The chapter contains a wealth of theoretical and practical material, much of it coming as a novelty in general linguistics.

The fourth part is devoted to more specific problems, those of phonology and lexicology. V. A. Vinogradov, *The phonological aspect of language description* (282–312). This chapter contains a valuable survey of phonological problems relevant for the description of various languages of the world from this aspect.

Karaulov, *The dictionary as a component of language description* (313–340 + chart). Using Hallig and Wartburg's dictionary as the yard-stick, the author deals with various semantic fields manifesting themselves in lexicographic material. In the process an excellent survey of the relevant literature reveals itself too.

On the whole, the present volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of language description and classification, to questions of general linguistics and typology. In the years that have passed since its publication, it has served as a thought-provoking fundamental monograph for those participating in the project "An Encyclopedia of the Languages of the World". Despite its enormous theoretical and methodological significance, it has only been the first step in grounding the work of the project. How the project went into full swing and how it was planned and organized can be learnt from Jarceva's lecture on the issue, *On the appearance of*

the *Encyclopedia of the Languages of the World* (Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR [1979] 2. 26–36).

B. Hollósy

Andrew Kerek, Bibliography of Hungarian Linguistic Research in the United States and Canada. Hungarian Research Center, American Hungarian Foundation, New Brunswick, N.J. 1979, 28 pp.

Professor Kerek is to be hailed for providing an indispensable tool for those linguists who are interested in North American research into the Hungarian language. Originally published in Vol. 49 [1977] of the *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, this Bibliography is meant to supplement and update John Lotz's pioneering summative bibliography in *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* No. 58 [1967]. It lists almost five times as many items as its predecessor, 249, to be precise. The entries include about 20 books and monographs, 130 articles, 45 reviews, and some 25 miscellaneous items such as notes, films, obituaries and contributions to encyclopedias. Also included are 11 master's theses and 19 doctoral dissertations. However, word lists, phrase books, readers, dictionaries, tapes and records, as well as pedagogical textbooks have been excluded, "unless they supply explicit information on grammar and other aspects of language structure." This principle of selection is quoted from Kerek's supplementary article "Hungarian Language Research in North America: Themes and Directions", which was published in the *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, Vol. V, No. 2 (Fall 1978).

The *Bibliography* contains "the work of American (and some Canadian) linguists, regardless of places of publication or dissemination; conversely, it excludes several major Hungarian-related works published or reprinted in the United States but originating elsewhere, notably pertinent volumes of the Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series" (5–6). Although

the present reviewer is no blind advocate of "purely scholarly" principles of selection, he is somewhat baffled by this "purely geographical" criterion. Had Professor Kerek included but the 20 most important works by Hungarian linguists published in English in Hungary, his service to American Hungarianists and others would certainly have been even greater.

In a few cases Kerek has omitted significant works that would warrant inclusion by his own criteria as well, such as the following:

Lotz, János. 1976. *Szonettkoszorú a nyelvről* [*Sonetti a corona on Language*]. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó.

Reményi, József. 1937. "Az amerikai magyar nyelv" [The American Hungarian Language]. *Nyugat* 30. 9. 184–188.

Reményi, József. 1937. "A magyarnyelvű alkotószellem lélektana Amerikában" [The Psychology of the Hungarian-Language Creative Artist in America]. *Magyar Szemle* 30. 76–81.

Sanders, Ivan. 1973. "Bebörtönzött nyelv? Jegyzetek az amerikai magyarok nyelvhasználatáról; a kétnyelvűségről" [Imprisoned Language? Notes on American Hungarian and on Bilingualism]. In: *Valóság* 16. 5. 90–95.

In at least one case a non-existent study has found its way into this Bibliography: V. Makkai's conference paper, entered as item [157] on p. 21, has never been written up, thus the short list of American publications on American Hungarian is even shorter.

Meticulous editing and easy-to-read print make this work pleasurable to use, and if I note that M. Hollósy's paper (item [76] on p. 13) appeared in the series *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics*, rather than in *Working Papers in Linguistics*, it is in order to save others the time I wasted in tracking down that particular study. Such unavoidable (?) errors, however, are few.

Despite its minor weaknesses, this thin booklet is an important research tool. Yet, as it will soon be outdated, it is to be hoped that similar compilations will follow periodically, either in the series Hungarian Reference Shelf, or elsewhere. Finally, here is a contribution to the post-1977 update just in case its compiler should miss this important but hard-to-find paper:

McRobbie, Zita. 1979. "A Linguistic Analysis of the Békévar[sic] Community". In *Békévar: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community*. Robert Blumstock ed. Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Paper No. 31. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada — Musées Nationaux du Canada, 167—209.

M. Kontra

Karl Manherz: Sprachgeographie und Sprachsoziologie der deutschen Mundarten in Westungarn. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1977, 189 S., 90 Karten.

Die verdienstvolle Untersuchung von K. Manherz angeregt von C. J. Hutterer, ist als Beitrag zum geplanten ungarndeutschen Sprachatlas¹ gedacht. Die Arbeit "läßt sich insofern in die allgemeine germanistische Forschung in Ungarn einordnen, als deren Arbeitsplan, auf Grund der Zusammenarbeit der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR mit der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Grundlagenforschung zur Zusammenstellung des Ungarndeutschen Sprachatlas (UDSA) als wichtigste Aufgabe bezeichnet" (11). Der Verf. stellt sich das Ziel, die deutschen Mundarten in Westungarn, auf dem Heideboden (ung. Mosoni síkság), in der Ödenburger und Günser Gegend sowie in der Raab an (ung. Rábaköz) bzw. im Raab-Lafnitztal (ung. Rába-Lapincsköz), auf Grund einer vergleichenden Laut- und Wortgeographie zu beschreiben und "die soziologische Stratifikation in der Sprache zu bestimmen" (11).

¹ Vgl. C. J. Hutterer, *Geschichte der ungarndeutschen Mundartforschung*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1960.

Eine instruktive Einleitung bietet viel Neues und auch bekannte frühere Arbeiten über das Gebiet, dessen 39 Orte der Verf. nun systematisch — die erste Aufnahme-fahrt im Sommer 1968 (bis 1971) — erforscht hat. Das umfangreiche Kapitel *Lautgeographie* (§§ 10—288), zum Hauptteil ausgebaut, ist ganz sprachhistorisch angelegt, vom ahd. Lautstand ausgehend. Nicht weniger systematisch stellt sich das Kapitel zur Wortgeographie (§§ 290—325) dar. Hochinteressant sind des Verf.s Ausführungen "zur Sprachsoziologie" (§§ 326—331). In einem Anhang wird der Vokalismus der ostdonaubairischen Mundart von Jörging und Wikatsch in der sog. Schwäbischen Türkei behandelt. Nützlich ist auch die Übersicht der Tonbandaufnahmen nach Themen, Sprechern, Generationen und sozialen Schichten (auf der Innenseite der hinteren Einbanddecke). Das anspruchsvolle Literaturverzeichnis nennt zur Landeskunde und -geschichte, Volkskunde, Sprache 555 Titel. Die bibliographischen Angaben der Zeitschriften im Abkürzungsverzeichnis hätten ausführlicher und damit genauer gegeben werden sollen. Das betrifft auch einige Siglen, z.B. *Md. Stud.* statt *MS*, *DiFo* statt *DF* (etwas weiter unten steht dann auch *DT* statt *D*). Die Legenden zu den 90 Sprachkarten hätten wegen besserer Lesbarkeit größer gedruckt werden sollen. Ein Wortregister ist vorhanden. Insgesamt aber schmälern diese geringen Mängel nicht den Wert des handlichen, schön gestalteten, hohes Niveau tragenden Fachbuches.

Es ist bekannt, daß schon K. J. Schröder auch die "Deutschtumsforschung" in Westungarn begründet hat, wenn er sich auch hauptsächlich lexikalischen Problemen der deutschen Mundarten im ehemaligen ungarischen Oberland (heute: Slowakei) gewidmet hat. Auch vor ihm hatten sich schon mehrere Forscher den volkskundlich-sprachlichen Problemen Westungarns zugewendet, besonders seit 1911. Das Untersuchungsgebiet ist interessant

genug. Die Orte liegen im sprachlichen Ausstrahlungsgebiet von Wieselburg, Ungarisch-Altenburg, Wien, Raab, Ödenburg, Güns und St. Gotthard, und "das Nebeneinander zweier Konfessionen hat die sprachliche Einheit des Arbeitsgebietes nicht besonders beeinträchtigt", anders als beispielsweise zwischen Siebenbürgen und dem Banat. Gut ist, daß sprachsoziologische Aspekte wie ein roter Faden die Untersuchung durchziehen, z. B. wird die Bauernsprache als Sprachschicht herausgestellt, wie die der Altersklassen und die geschlechtlichen und konfessionellen sprachlichen Unterschiede. Am Anfang jeder Befragung stand die Tonbandaufnahme, und es zeigte sich auch in dieser Sprachinsellage die bekannte Tatsache, daß zunächst "besser", dann zunehmend die echten Ortsmundarten gesprochen wurden. Der Verf. hat am liebsten die Aufnahme bei der Arbeit (z. B. der Handwerker) durchgeführt und in jedem Ort mindestens vier Gewährspersonen über das Fragebuch des Ungarndeutschen Sprachatlas befragt, möglichst alle drei Generationen. Doch mitunter fehlen Gewährsleute der mittleren und jüngeren Generation, da sie unter der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung nicht vertreten sind oder die Mundart nicht mehr beherrschen, sondern als Haussprache Ungarisch sprechen. "Das Verstehen der Mundart beträgt bei der mittleren Generation 90%, bei der jüngeren 50%, das aktive Sprechen ist kaum vorhanden" (19). In entlegenen Dörfern "herrscht die Mundart als Haussprache und auf der Straße" (20) bei jeder Generation. Für das instruktive Schildern der sprachsoziologischen und ethnischen Situation als statistische Übersicht von 1880, 1920 und 1970 muß man dem Verf. besonders dankbar sein. Die siedlungsgeographische Beschreibung der Orte ist genau. Auch der Ort Jahrmarkt im Komitat Wesprim/Veszprém ist einbezogen

worden, da er in der sprachgeographischen Arbeit von C. J. Hutterer² nicht behandelt worden ist. Mit dieser Mundartvertretung sollte die sprachliche Übergangslage zwischen dem nordwestlichen Buchenwald und dem Heideboden aufgehellt werden. Ungarisch heißt der Ort Gyarmat.³ Hervorzuheben ist, daß der Verf. alle Ortsnamen zweisprachig, nämlich Ungarisch und Deutsch, gegeben hat. Er hat außerdem die Geschichte der Lautschrift dargestellt bis zum neuen Transkriptionssystem von C. J. Hutterer für seine Dissertation (s. Anm. 2), die dieser 1958 als Schirmunski-Schüler an der Universität Moskau verteidigt hat und das er dann in den "Randbemerkungen" zu Es Kranzmayers "Historischer Lautgeographie des gesamtbairischen Dialektraumes"⁴ ausgebaut hat.

Im wortgeographischen Kapitel ragen z. B. S. 117 solch interessante Beispiele heraus wie von Unterzemming *bauen* statt *ackern* 'pflügen', und südbair. *Mittag* 'Mittwoch' herrscht in verschiedenen Mundarten des südbairischen Einflußbereichs, z. B. auch südbair. *Laube* statt *Hausflur*. Zu weisen ist auch auf *Fisole* 'Bohne' (119), bair. *Ahnl* 'Großvater', *Ahnl* 'Großmutter' (120f.), *Hahn/Kokosch* (< ung. *kakas*, 120), *gān/gāmetzen* 'gähnen' (121), *Schnitterjause/Schnitterhahn/Schnitteräldomās* (< ung. *äldomās*) 'Schnitterhahn' (121).

Hervorzuheben sind soziologische Schichtungen. So sind in den Stadtmundarten Lehnwörter aus der Hochsprache belegt wie *mēTab(n)* 'Mädchen', *Froilein* 'Fräulein' (84); 'Meister' heißt bei der älteren Generation überall *māsta* 'Schulmeister' schon *šumāsta*, also *ā* statt *qa*, von der städtischen Mundart und kirchensprachlich beeinflusst. Interessant ist die Schichtung im Vokalismus von 'Ei': *qa* echte Dorfmundart, *ā* (*ār*) Handwerksprache, *ēi* Stadtmundart und Intelligenz. Die außersprachliche Wirklichkeit ist somit vielfältig. Sie bestimmt den Sprecher, z. B.

² Das Ungarische Mittelgebirge als Sprachraum. Historische Lautgeographie der deutschen Mundarten in Mittelungarn. Halle/Saale 1963.

³ H. Protze, Das Wort "Markt" in den mitteldeutschen Mundarten. Berlin 1961.

⁴ In: ALH 9 [1959] 335 ff.

soziale Herkunft, Konfession, Geschlecht, Alter, Familienstand, geographische Herkunft, Wohnsitz, Ausbildung und Beruf. Groß ist die Wirkung Wiens, d. h. seiner ostdonaubairischen Verkehrssprache. Der Verf. bringt interessante Beispiele (127 f.), wie die Sprache des Einzelnen von seiner sozialen Lage weitgehend beeinflußt wird. Er stellt vier Stufen von Hochsprache und Mundart "in der Phase der Entdeutschung" in Westungarn fest: I. Ungarisch als Schriftsprache, II. Ostdonaubairische (Wiener) Verkehrssprache (sprachliche Norm); III. Regionale Verkehrssprache (Stadtmundart, Sprache des Handwerkers); IV. Ostdonaubairischer uidi-Dialekt (bzw. in Unterzerning Alsószőlőnk und Sankt Gotthard Szentgotthárd südbairischer — steirischer — Dialekt). Heute hat die Beeinflussung durch die ungarische Hochsprache zugenommen. Die Wiener Verkehrssprache hat bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges stark eingewirkt. Der Einfluß beider Verkehrssprachen hat sich in verschiedenem Maße durchgesetzt, wie der Verf. S. 128 betont: "Durch die Umsiedlung (die auch die Auflösung der Sprachgemeinschaft bedeutete), die spezifische Lage im Grenzgebiet und die ungarische Sprache als Hochsprache haben wir einen zweiseitigen Prozeß vor uns: Von der älteren Generation wird die Stadtmundart als Norm angestrebt und dadurch der Ausgleich zwischen Dorfmundart und regionaler Verkehrssprache gefördert, die mittlere Generation und die Handwerkerschicht richtet sich nach der Sprache der Intelligenz und fördert damit den Ausgleich zwischen regionaler und Wiener Verkehrssprache. Außer dem sprachlichen Verkehr

fördern diesen Prozeß noch die neuen Massenmedien (nach den statistischen Erhebungen wird von den Deutschen in Westungarn hauptsächlich österreichisches Fernsehen empfangen). Dagegen besitzt das Ungarische als Hochsprache auf allen Gebieten des Lebens und in jeder Schicht großen Einfluß. Durch die Überdachung der ungarischen Hochsprache, durch verschiedene Stufen der Doppelsprachigkeit, stehen unsere Mundarten vor einer sprachlichen Umschichtung".

Als wertvolle Ergänzung behandelt der Verf. die Fachsprachen in Westungarn, besonders lexikalisch. Im Vordergrund steht die der Kerzengießer, Lebzelter und Fischer (Fischerei vor allem am Neusiedler See). Aber auch volkskundlich interessant Dargestelltes und die Bauernsprache (Heuarbeit, Rohrschneiden) bereichern die Untersuchung,⁵ die den Kenner verrät und jedem vom Fach zu empfehlen ist.

H. Protze
(Leipzig)

Hajdú Péter—Domokos Péter: Uráli nyelvrokonsáink [Unsere uralischen Sprachverwandten]. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest 1978. 424 S. + 27 Photographien.

Das breite Publikum — wohin auch die Studenten (die ja zumeist in den ersten Universitätsjahren noch nicht entschieden haben, ob sie Sprachforscher werden wollen, oder an einem anderen Gebiet der Philologie arbeiten möchten) zu rechnen sind — hat keine reiche Auswahl, wenn es sich über unsere Sprachverwandten orientieren will. Die bisher ungarisch erschienenen Bücher über dieses Thema¹ sind längst

⁵ K. Manherz hat erst in der letzten Zeit wertvolle Beiträge zur Volkskunde veröffentlicht: Die Terminologie der Flachsverarbeitung in den deutschen Mundarten in Westungarn. In: *Annales Univ. Scient. Budapestensis. Sectio Linguistica*. Tomus 4, Budapest 1973, 93 ff.; Ders., Beiträge zur volkskundlichen Beschreibung des Weberhandwerkes in Pula (Plattenseeoberland). In: Beiträge zur Volkskunde der Ungarndeutschen, Budapest, 1975, 243 ff. (14 Abb.).

¹ Zsirai Miklós, *Finnugor rokonságunk*. Budapest. Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia 1937 [Unsere finnisch-ugrische Verwandtschaft] (im weiteren wird nur mit Zs. auf dieses Buch hingewiesen); Hajdú Péter, *Finnugor népek és nyelvek* [Finnisch-ugrische Völker und Sprachen] Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó 1962. Im weiteren als HP erwähnt.

vergriffen; das erste, Zsirai's Werk, behandelte im engen Sinne des Wortes nur unsere finnisch-ugrischen Sprachverwandten, über die fernerstehenden Verwandten, über die verschiedenen Samojeden war bisher nur bei Hajdú zu lesen. Das unlängst erschienene, jetzt zu besprechende Buch hilft demzufolge einem Mangel ab. Leider ist es aber nur an wenigen Stellen erhältlich, für Studenten ist es leicht zugänglich, aber für das Publikum nicht; eigentlich wissen über das Erscheinen dieses Buches lediglich die Fachkreise. (Dieser Beschränktheit müßte eine zweite, erweiterte Ausgabe, bei einem der Öffentlichkeit publizierenden Verlag, abhelfen). Das Buch hat ja, — wie die Verfasser es im Vorwort expressis verbis sagen — nicht nur im Hochschulunterricht bei der Bildung der werdenden Lehrer der ungarischen Sprache eine Aufgabe, sondern es kann sicherlich zu einem richtigen Mittel unserer Bildung werden.

Das Publikum hätte umso mehr Interesse an diesem Buch, weil es das erste Werk ist, worin Philologisches über unsere uralischen Sprachverwandten in weiterem Sinne zu finden ist: nicht nur die Sprache, sondern auch die Literatur der Uralier wird darin (von P. Domokos) bekanntgemacht.

Gemäß dem Vorwort ergänzt dieses Universitätslehrbuch ein anderes, ganz und gar sprachwissenschaftliches Lehrbuch von P. Hajdú, nämlich das Buch, *Bevezetés az uráli nyelvtudományba* (Einführung in die uralische Sprachwissenschaft), das nur in seinem ersten Kapitel (5–14), also quasi nur in der Einleitung diejenigen Fragen behandelt, denen dieses jetzt erschienene gewidmet wurde. Die oben erwähnten Bücher von Zsirai und Hajdú behandeln aber genau dieselben Fragen: dies erhellt aus dem Vergleich des Inhaltes der drei Bücher.

Von den sechs Kapiteln des neuen Lehrbuches wurden alle bis auf Kapitel III (93–138) in den früheren zwei Werken auch, sogar etwas breiter und weiter, behandelt. Kapitel I, die Geschichte und der

heutige Stand der uralischen Forschungen (9–39) wurde von Zsirai viel ausführlicher dargelegt (Zs. 472–580), obwohl er ja nur fast um ein halbes Jahrhundert kürzere Entwicklung darstellen konnte; im früheren Werk von Hajdú hinwieder wurde nur im Anhang (HP 389–403) ganz knapp darüber berichtet. Kapitel II, die genetische Forschung der uralischen Sprachen (41–92) wurde von Zsirai und auch von Hajdú selbst früher eingehender erörtert (Zs. 24–141, HP 5–146). In Kapitel IV (139–385) haben sich die Proportionen im Vergleich zu den zwei früheren Werken (Zs. 142–471, HP 147–385) ganz umgestaltet. Zsirai konnte bei den Wogulen, Ostjaken, Syrjänen, Wotjaken und Tscheremissen (Zs. 177–8, 199, 220, 232, 249) eben nur ahnen lassen, daß ihr Schulwesen im Aufschwung ist, daß sie in ihrer eigenen Sprache Schul- und Lesebücher, ja sogar auch Schriftsteller und Dichter haben, zu jener Zeit konnte er natürlich nichts mehr über ihre neue literarische Entwicklung wissen; bei den Lappen werden fast nur Bibelübersetzungen und Werke der Missionäre (ebd. 288) erwähnt. Über tatsächliche, lebende Literatur berichtet Zsirai nur bei den Finnen und Esten (Zs. 379–88, 462–9). Hajdú hat die Literatur auch nur ganz knapp behandelt (HP 202–3, 217–8, 228–9, 244–5, 258–60, 283–93, 304–7, 331–2, 383–5), jedoch ist auch aus seiner inhaltsverzeichnisartigen Mitteilung zu sehen, daß alle Uralier in der Sowjetunion überall über eine sich entwickelnde Literatur verfügen, die gute Übersetzung eines Gedichtes von einem jurakischen Dichter wird sogar als Beispiel mitgeteilt. Den tatsächlichen Reichtum und die Mannigfaltigkeit der Literatur unserer Sprachverwandten können wir aber erst jetzt aus den von P. Domokos zusammengestellten Übersichten ersehen (173–183, 192–209, 216–29, 238–48, 256–67, 287–98, 305–21, 325–30, 333, 343–8, 380–5).

Kapitel V (387, vgl. HP 423–4) ist eigentlich kein Kapitel, sondern nur ein kurzer Hinweis auf die Transkription der

Belege aus den verschiedenen uralischen Sprachen. Kapitel VI, Literaturverzeichnis (389—417), ist die Weiterentwicklung jenes Verzeichnisses, das Hajdú in seinem früheren Werk veröffentlicht hat (HP 404—23). Mit der Bibliographie von Zsirai können diese beide nur in Einzelfragen, jedoch nicht in ihrem Umfang verglichen werden, da Zsirai die betreffenden literarischen Werke nach jedem Problembereich angibt, also dezentralisiert, der Umfang seiner Bibliographie wird daraus auch nicht klar ersichtlich, da viele Werke öfters angegeben werden mußten.

Die Seitenzahl des neuen Lehrbuches ist fast identisch mit der des früheren Werkes von Hajdú, und viel kleiner als bei Zsirai, es enthält dagegen im Vergleich zu den früheren zwei Werken ein neues Kapitel; dadurch folgt zwangsläufig, daß fast alle in dritter Bearbeitung lesbare Themen kürzer behandelt werden mußten. Es verhält sich zwar tatsächlich so, ohne aber daß daraus dem Leser ein Verlust zuteil werde. Alles Wichtige, Wissenswerte der früheren zwei zusammenfassenden Werke über die Finno-Ugrier, bzw. über die Uralier ist auch in diesem neueren, ganz knapp, jedoch gut lesbar geschriebenem Werk wiederzufinden, man bekommt sogar in jeder Hinsicht mehr als in den zwei anderen Büchern.

Die Geschichte der Uralistik enthält z. B. mehrere Mitteilungen, die nur ein Ungar, und nur einer unserer Zeitgenossen für die Geschichte der uralischen Forschungen Kund geben konnte. So wissen nur wir, was die Uralistik durch den allzu frühen Tod von J. Györke und K. Horváth verloren hat, da wir nicht nur ihre erschienenen Werke kennen — deren Zahl leider nicht groß ist —, sondern auch ihre Freunde waren, ihre Gelehrtheit und ihre Pläne kannten. Die gebührende Stelle dieser zwei begabten allzu jung hingegangenen Forscher in der Geschichte der uralischen Sprachwissenschaft, könnte niemand besser bestimmen als P. Hajdú (23).

Die Geschichte der Forschungen endet in diesem Werk eigentlich nicht bei unse-

ren Tagen, sondern weist auf die Perspektiven der Zukunft hin: man erfährt was von unserer Jugend zu erwarten ist. Obzwar an und für sich ein Hinweis auf den Platz, und auf ihr Forschungsgebiet die junge Sprachforscher in der Geschichte der Sprachforschung der Uralistik einnehmen viel Anregendes in sich birgt, hat es jedoch in zwei Richtungen Disproportionalitäten zur Folge. Wenn man nur den Anzeiger der NyK I-L. anschaut, findet man etwa ein Dutzend hier nicht erwähnte Namen von Uralisten, die vor dem ersten Weltkrieg (Dezső Szabó, Schütz, Kara, Sarkadi, Nagy, usw.) mit einer guten Dissertation ihre Universitätsstudien beendeten, und weiter nur wenig, oder überhaupt nichts mehr produzierten. Genau so steht es um die Verfasser der FgrÉrt.: nur die Hälfte arbeitete weiter als Sprachforscher (diese wurden auch in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt). Synchronistisch ist dieselbe Unebenheit in hungarozentrischer Art zu beobachten: die an dem uralistischen Lehrstuhl einer Universität im Ausland (Helsinki, München, Hamburg, usw.) als Nachwuchs arbeiten oder zu arbeiten beginnen, konnten natürlich in dieser kurzen Zusammenfassung auch dann nicht alle erwähnt werden, wenn ihre Dissertationen schon erschienen sind, ja auch die Ungarn nicht, wenn sie nicht Schüler der zwei Verfasser waren (z. B. die ausgezeichnete Dissertation aus der Lappologie von Zita Utasi, die in Budapest eingereicht und verteidigt wurde).

Über die genetische Forschung der uralischen Sprachen faßt Hajdú prägnant die komplexen Methoden der Uralistik zusammen, die modernen Ergebnisse der neuesten Forschungen lernt der Leser hier alle kennen. Es entspricht dem heutigen Stand unserer Wissenschaft, daß über die Finno-ugrier schon ziemlich viel erforscht wurde, und daß über die Geschichte des samojedischen Zweiges hier überhaupt nicht, (s. 92) und auch im Kapitel über die uralischen Völker sehr wenig über ihre Vorgeschichte zu lesen ist (348—354). Ich bin dessen überzeugt, daß man nach aus-

führlicherer Bearbeitung der Samojedologie auch den Unterschied zwischen der Sprache, Lebensweise der Uralier, bzw. ihrer Nachfolger, d. h. einerseits der Finno-ugrier, andererseits der Ursamojeden deutscher umreißen können wird. Diesem Kapitel schließt sich eigentlich das neue Kapitel der so gearteten Bücher an, wo man Sprachtypologisches (93—118) und areale Untersuchungen (119—137) über die uralischen Sprachen als Beispiele lesen kann. Es wäre interessant, den typologischen Vergleich und die Gruppierung der uralischen Sprachen in einem Farbdruck zu sehen, obzwar auch die hiesige Darstellung (137) viel Beobachtungswertes aufweist.

Wie schon erwähnt, im Kapitel über die uralischen Völker, lernen wir nicht nur ihre Geschichte (die Geschichten der Völker und ihrer Sprachen), bis zu unseren Tagen, weiterhin ihre sozialen Verhältnisse, ihre materielle und geistliche Kultur, die Überreste der heidnischen Glaubensvorstellungen, ihre Riten, ihre Lebensweise usw. kennen, sondern das erste Mal auch ihre Literatur nach der Revolution. Bei dieser äußerst glücklichen Neuerung vermißt der Leser nur eines: der Zusammenhang, die feste Zusammengehörigkeit der Volksdichtung und der Kunstdichtung erhellt hier nicht genügend. Bei den Wogulen und Ostjaken berichtet ein Kapitel über ihre Volkskunst und Volksdichtung, (162—169) und ein anderes (173—184) über die wogulischen und ostjakischen Schriftsteller und Dichter, die nach der Oktoberrevolution studiert haben und in ihrer Muttersprache publizieren konnten. Wie eng die Volksdichtung und die Kunstliteratur der Uralier zusammenhängt, wurde besonders schön und gut nur bei den Mordwinen (256—267) dargestellt. Obzwar die meisten der uralischen Dichter und Schriftsteller in ihrer Kunst eigentlich Volksdichter sind, da die meisten so arbeiten, wie ihre namenlosen Vorfahren, deren Werke in der Volksdichtung erhalten geblieben sind, wird die reiche Volksdichtung der Uralier nur bei den Obugriern erwähnt und mit ungarischen Übersetzungen illustriert. Daß die

übrigen Uralier auch reich an Produkten der Volksdichtung waren und vermutlich auch jetzt sind, ist nur aus der Bibliographie, aus der Angabe der Textsammlungen ersichtlich. Die Sprache und der Stil der Literatur der Uralier weist aber darauf hin, daß die meisten Dichter dem Volk entwachsen sind und die Volksdichtung des eigenen Volkes sicherlich sehr gut kennen. Es wäre angebracht gewesen, den Anfang der Literatur überall in der Volksdichtung zu bezeichnen, darauf hinzuweisen, daß das Sammeln der Volksdichtung schon von Reguly und Castrén begonnen wurde, — wobei das Mißvertrauen der unterdrückten Völker den fremden Sammlern gegenüber viel Schwierigkeiten verursacht hat —, dann systematisch am Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts vorgenommen (s. die Bestrebungen der Finnisch-ugrischen Gesellschaft zu Helsinki) und bis zum ersten Weltkrieg nicht unterlassen wurde.

Die reiche und zeitgemäße Bibliographie des Buches (389—417) ist nicht nur dem Publikum und den Studenten, sondern auch Fachkreisen aufschlußreich, da es auch 1977 erschienene Werke enthält. Es ist besonders lehrreich, daß die wichtigsten uralischen Bibliographien, Handbücher und Kompilationsübersetzungen aus der Literatur auch angegeben wurden (389—393). Das gesonderte Aufzählen von Textausgaben, Grammatiken, Wörterbüchern und übrigen Werken gewährt eine gute Übersicht. Im weiteren ist mir aber das Prinzip der Anordnung nicht klar: alphabetisch, oder chronologisch ist es sicher nicht, nach der Sprache der Herausgabe richtet es sich auch nicht, thematische Gruppen können zwar gefunden werden, aber die Liste der Übersetzungen literarischer Werke wird einmal am Ende (393, vgl. noch 417), ein anderes mal (396, 400, 402, 414) am Anfang, oder ganz gesondert angegeben (407—8, 410—1); vielleicht geschieht dies aus pädagogischen Gründen: der Leser soll weiterlesen, wenn er etwas in der Bibliographie sucht.

Die Uralistik hat eine viel zu reiche Bibliographie, daß hier Mitgeteilte ist nur eine Auswahl. Daß ältere etymologische Wörterbücher unerwähnt bleiben (MUSz., VglWb.), kann man verstehen, da die schon veraltet sind. Bei Wörterbüchern (wie z. B. die finnischen Wörterbücher von E. Lönnrot und G. Renvall) ist das Veralten nicht dermaßen fortgeschritten, daß sie unter den wichtigsten Wörterbüchern nicht stehen sollten. Bei den Textsammlungen wäre auch gut einiges noch in der nächsten Ausgabe nachzuholen: z. B. B. Kálmán: Wogulische Texte mit einem Glossar, Pápay J.: Északi-ostjåk nyelvtanulmányok (FF 15), die wotjakischen Textsammlungen von Y. Wichman (JSFOu. XI, XIX), Lehtisalo Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung (MSFOu. CX) usw. Namen verschiedener Forscher (von Ahlqvist bis N. Sebestyén) werden ohne Vergeßens unter den übrigen literarischen Angaben gesucht, obwohl hier die Auswahl der zu erwähnenden Werke sicher sehr schwierig ist. Die Bibliographie enthält auch solche Unfolgerichtigkeiten, die in einer neuen Ausgabe unbedingt beseitigt werden können: bei MSzFgrE (392) wird nicht darauf hingewiesen, wie beim DEWOS (396), daß die Fortsetzung folgt, auch bei Karjalan kielen sanakirja nicht (412), obwohl die Verfasser es doch wohl wußten. Aus so einem Mangel können in späteren Bibliographien Fehler zustande kommen. (s. Zsirai, FgrRok. Karjalainen; Die Religion der Jugra-Völker FFC 41, 44, demzufolge FFC 63 auch in mehreren bibliographischen Zusammenstellungen fehlt).

Zu verbessern wären in einer nächsten Ausgabe die bibliographischen Daten der von Fremden bearbeiteten Nachlässe. Es gibt Nachlaßausgaben, wo die Bearbeitung schon fertig war, wo tatsächlich nur die Herausgabe nach dem Tode geschah (z. B.

bei Castrén, bei den ostjakischen Texten von J. Pápay), in einem anderen Fall blieb die Beendigung der Herausgabe dem Mitarbeiter (Kannistos bearbeitete wogulischen Texte wurden erst nach seinem Tode herausgegeben, s. MSFOu. 101: XXXI–XXXII), in den meisten Fällen (Karjalainen, Paasonen usw.) fiel aber nach dem Tode des Sammlers die Bearbeitung und die Herausgabe dem Bearbeiter des Nachlasses zu. Diese Art von Nachlaßausgaben erscheinen in drei Formen in der vorliegenden Bibliographie: a) Sammler und Bearbeiter beide werden als Autoren angegeben, b) jemandes Nachlaß, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von einem anderen (beide sind richtig und üblich) und c) das Bearbeiten wird nicht erwähnt, nur die Herausgabe, was natürlich nicht dem Tatbestand entspricht. Ich schlage vor, die Arbeit des Herausgebers so anzugeben, wie es am Titelblatt der Werke steht. (Das ungenaue Zitieren beginnt heutzutage Mode zu werden, s. hierüber Verf. OLZ. 74, 265.)

In einer nächsten, erweiterten Ausgabe könnten m. E. die bildenden Künste der Uralier ausführlicher, vielleicht in einem gesonderten Kapitel und reich illustriert behandelt werden, weiterhin die Bibliographie mit dem Verzeichnis der einschlägigen Periodica und das Buch mit einem Namen und Sachregister, ergänzt werden. Ich würde meinerseits noch eine kleine Änderung vorschlagen: den konsequenteren Gebrauch der alten ungarischen Namen unserer Verwandten (hierüber s. ausführlicher Verf. Nyr.).

Ich bin darüber fest überzeugt, daß vorliegende Lehrbuch noch viele ergänzte und erweiterte Ausgaben erreichen wird und mit einem reicheren Illustrationsmaterial versehen auch bei dem breiten Publikum einen großen Erfolg erreichen wird.

Edith Vértés

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